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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE;

BETWEEN THE YEAR 1744,

141629

AND THE PERIOD OF HIS DECEASE, IN 1797.

EDITED BY

CHARLES WILLIAM, EARL FITZWILLIAM,

AND LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. III.

DATE		PAGE
	1782.	
July 20.	Duke of Portland to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	1
Oct. 8.	Wm. Jones, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.....	4
	1783.	
	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Ragonaut Row	6
Feb. 25.	Wm. Jones, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.....	9
	R. B. Sheridan, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke ..	11
Mar. 3.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Joseph Bullock, Esq....	12
Mar.	Rich. Burke, Sen., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	15
Aug. 4.	Rich. Burke, Sen., Esq., to Mrs. Burke.....	20
Oct.	Arthur Pigot, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	22
Dec. 6.	Mr. Wm. Leechman to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke....	23
	1784.	
Jan. 31.	Lord Macartney to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.....	25
April 13.	Sir Wm. Jones to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	30
	1785.	
Mar.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Lord Thurlow	33
Oct. 26.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Shackleton	36
Dec. 10.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Philip Francis, Esq.	38

1786.

DATE		PAGE
July.	Rich. Burke, Sen., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	46

1787.

Mar. 25.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas	48
Mar. 26.	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	53
April 20.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas	54
April 20.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Mrs. Francis	56
June 19.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq. .	59
Dec. 7.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rt. Hon. H. Dundas ...	60
Dec. 8.	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	66
Dec. 9.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas	69

1788.

Jan. 30.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to William Fawkener, Esq.	71
May 1.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the Speaker of the House of Commons.....	73
June 25.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Messrs. Rich. Burke....	75
July 2.	Dr. Rich. Brocklesby to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke ..	78
July 17.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Dr. Rich. Brocklesby ..	79
Nov.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox	81

1789.

Jan. 2.	Philip Francis, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	85
Jan. 24.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Wm. Windham, Esq....	88
Oct.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Mons. Dupont	102
Dec. 11.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Philip Francis, Esq.....	121

1790.

Feb. 19.	Philip Francis, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	128
Feb. 20.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Philip Francis, Esq..	132
Feb. 20.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Philip Francis, Esq....	134
Feb. 26.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Capt. Mercer	141
Aug. 13.	Rev. Dr. Hussey to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	150
Aug. 6.	T. Hussey, Esq., to Rev. Dr. Hussey	152
Oct. 28.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Mons. Dupont	155
Nov. 3.	Philip Francis, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke....	162
Nov. 14.	Lord John Cavendish to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke ..	171
Nov. 19.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Philip Francis, Esq.	172

1790.

DATE		PAGE
Dec. 4.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Philip Francis, Esq.	178
Dec. 21.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Wm. Windham, Esq	180

1791.

Jan.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Hon. John Trevor.....	182
Jan. 8.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Madame D'Osmond	186
Jan. 25.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to a French Lady	191
Feb. 11.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Capt. Woodford..	197
March	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de la Bintinnaye..	201
June 1.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de Rivarol	206
July 13.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Marquis de Bouillé	216
July 25.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Sen., Esq..	220
Aug. 5.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq..	224
Aug. 5.	Lord Camden to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.....	228
Aug. 6.	Sir Wm. Scott to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	230
Aug. 9.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq..	231
Aug. 10.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq..	234
Aug.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.	237
Aug. 12.	Lord Auckland to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.....	247
Aug. 13.	Lord Charlemont to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	250
Aug. 16.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq..	253
Aug. 16.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	256
Aug. 16.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	265
Aug. 17.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	280
Aug. 18.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	281
Aug. 20.	Duke of Dorset to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	283
Aug.	Sketch of a Letter to the Queen of France.....	285
Aug. 23.	J. H. Hutchinson, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	289
Aug. 25.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	290
Aug. 26.	From Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.) to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	294
Aug. 26.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	295
Sept. 1.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	301
Sept. 2.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	304
Sept. 10.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de la Bintinnaye..	312
Sept. 10.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	314

1791.

DATE		PAGE
Sept. 17.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.)	330
Sept. 18.	Earl Fitzwilliam to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	333
Sept. 20.	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	335
Sept. 24.	Dr. Laurence to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	337
Sept. 26.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	341
Oct. 2.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de la Bintinnaye	350
Oct. 13.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de la Bintinnaye	351
Nov. 2.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de la Bintinnaye	355
Dec. 13.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	357
Dec. 15.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	359
Dec. 15.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	360
Dec. 16.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	363
Dec. 25.	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	365

1792.

Jan. 8.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	367
Jan. 13.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun, Esq.	372
Jan. 21.	Philip Francis, Esq., to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	376
Jan. 26.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	378
Jan. 27.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the Chev. and Abbé de la Bintinnaye	381
Jan. 31.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to William Weddell, Esq.	383
Jan. 29.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	409
Feb. 19.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	413
Feb. 29.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rev. Robert Dodge	420
March.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	424
March 18.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Edmund Malone, Esq.	430
March.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	432
March 20.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	434
March.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the King of Poland	446
March 23.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	451
June 2.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Lord Grenville	455
June 18.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the Chev. and Abbé de la Bintinnaye	467
July 29.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	469

1792.

DATE.		PAGE
July.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to the Countess of Inchiquin	479
Aug. 1.	Rt. Hon. H. Dundas to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq..	482
Aug. 3.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Abbé de la Bintinnaye ..	484
Aug. 17.	Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq., to Wm. Burke, Esq....	486
Aug. 18.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Lord Grenville	503
Aug. 24.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Chev. de Grave	511
Sept.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Wm. Burke, Esq.	514
Sept.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	523
Sept.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Rich. Burke, Jun., Esq.	530
Sept. 6.	Lord Grenville to Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke	532
Sept. 8.	Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke to Mrs. Mary Leadbeater..	534

CORRESPONDENCE,

&c.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin Castle,
Saturday night, July 20, 1782.

MY DEAREST BURKE,

You will not wonder at my want of resolution to write to you. Upon public ground I had firmness to contemplate our great and, I fear, irreparable loss; but as the object of my private esteem, affection, and confidential attachment, I am either too little or too much a man to reconcile myself as yet to the idea of being deprived of him for ever. The consequences of this fatal blow, I will own, are more affecting than I could have imagined; and though it is impossible for me to be jealous of your glory, I must lament the opportunity you have had of adding to it, by the manly, just, and disinterested resolution you adopted in the instant of calamity. I need not assure you of the sincerity or warmth of my affection; and in

all this distress, I have not, and could not have had so real a consolation, as I derive from the satisfaction of your own mind in the part you have so honourably decided to take. Do not imagine, my dear friend, that I ever entertained one moment's doubt of your acting precisely in the manner you have done. I only request of you to allow me to take a share of the honest pride, which you ought and which I know you feel, in the superiority and virtue of your own mind. The situation I am *still* in affords me little leisure; but I have written to the Duke of Richmond, Lord Keppel, Charles Fox, and T. Townshend, upon this melancholy occasion. I should not be sorry that our *late*, (I cannot bear the word *lost*,) as well as our constant friends, should be acquainted with the contents of my letters to the first and last, but particularly the first of these gentlemen. What I have said, I trust, will not be disavowed or disapproved by our steady friends. I have spoken the language of truth and real concern for their mistaken opinions, and have kept my heart, as well as my arms, open for their return from their errors[1].

[1] The Duke of Portland alludes to the division which took place in the cabinet on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the consequent change of administration. Mr. Burke refused to continue in office under Lord Shelburne. The Duke of Richmond continued under him.

You have a right to influence my wishes, and to direct my opinion, but I never have been able to account for the apprehensions of Mr. M. M.[2] and his friends; for I have never disclosed my intentions respecting the alteration I should have thought necessary in the revenue-board, had I continued in this country; nor, indeed, had I settled in my own mind the removals: but the period of my Irish existence approaches so fast, that your friend's fears must be nearly subsided, and no merit can be claimed in assuring him *now* that his hat is secure during my administration. I should feel happy in the possession of so much power as may be necessary to gratify your other *most natural* wish; but no vacancy has happened or is likely to happen, and I have no other means of attaining your object, but by recommendation to a place on the civil or military establishment; and I do not feel very confident of success, at any rate, but more particularly as every such proposal must be introduced by the first lord of the treasury. Pray remember the duchess as well as me, to Mrs. Burke and your whole house. Your partiality and that of our friends would have placed me in a station, which, even in this moment of improbability, I tremble at the idea of occupying. I hope you all know me better than I know myself; but I could not have given you

[2] Mr. Monck Mason.

so unquestionable a proof of my entire and unbounded confidence, as by submitting to your will. Farewell, my dearest friend: most cordially

Yours,

P.

WILLIAM JONES, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

University College, Oxford, Oct. 8, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,

I soon waked from my dream of being able to assist my unfortunate friend in Virginia, and to be again in England, according to my engagements, before the end of the year. To me who had so long been thinking of a voyage to India, the passage to America would have been easy, and the return is usually performed in less than three weeks; but no vessels tolerably safe or convenient were likely to sail till late in the autumn; and as Lord Shelburne had written me word that "he had nothing more at heart than to procure a desirable station for me in Bengal," I told my friend that I could not accompany him further, and exhorted him to go alone, as his time in Europe was of no consequence, and his presence in America of the greatest. He declared, as he always had done, (which was my sole motive for accompanying him,) that he neither could nor

would embark without me, and has returned to London, feeding himself with vain hopes. Thus ends, for the present, my western expedition. It would, I confess, have given me infinite pleasure, to see such a country at such a time; but I could not, without a total abandonment of my eastern views, have been absent all the spring: and I wish more than ever to be in India, that I may be less afflicted at a distance than I am on the scene of action, by the dissension of my benefactors and friends, which I never ceased to deprecate, and shall never cease to deplore. I rejoice that I am not in parliament for this or any other place; since, resolved as I should be to do what I thought right, I must necessarily be hostile to some of those whom I love and venerate, or of those to whom I am obliged. As to yourself, I am bound to you by such a variety of ties, that the time can never come, when I shall cease to be *famæ tuæ buccinator*, and to be as proud of your friendship as happy in your prosperity and glory. I lamented with real anguish, the loss of the virtuous, amiable, and excellent marquis. As to his successor[3], I can only say with great truth, that, in the words of Antony, he has been

"Faithful and just to *me*:—
But Brutus says he is *ambitious*;—
If it *be* so, it is a grievous fault," &c.—

[3] Lord Shelburne.

and I make no scruple to add,—if it be so, "grievously may he answer it." The principles which he has professed to me are such as my reason approved before I knew him; and if I should find those professions hollow and delusive, I am very sure that no views in the east, or any point of the political compass, could induce me to love him. I entreat you, my dear sir, to be persuaded that a sense of your signal kindness and indulgence to me, will ever continue deeply impressed on the mind of,

Your truly grateful and affectionate servant,

W. JONES.

RIGHT. HON. EDMUND BURKE, TO RAGONAUT ROW[1].

(Date, at the end of 1782 or beginning of 1783.)

I AM extremely thankful for the honour you have done me by your letter, and I hope you will have the condescension to excuse me, if I am

[1] The draft of this letter is incomplete; and that of Ragonaut Row, to which it is in reply, has not been found amongst Mr. Burke's papers. The origin of the correspondence appears to be this:—Early in 1781, Hummond Row and Mamear Parsi, Brahmins of high *caste*, arrived in England as agents of Ragonaut Row, who had some business to transact with the East India directors and British government. They were found by Mr. Burke in London under very unpleasant circumstances, occasioned by their peculiar modes of life and

not well enough acquainted with your customs, to employ the address that is usual in writing to persons of your rank and character. But I beg you will be assured that I wish to employ the style best fitted to express the highest possible respect to the illustrious and sacred *caste* to which you belong, to the high office you lately held, to your personal merit, and to your great sufferings.

You set too much value on the few and slight services, that I have been able to perform for your agent Hummond Row, and his assistant Mamear Parsi. It was nothing more than the duty which one man owed to another. Hummond Row has done me the honour of being my guest for a very short time; and I endeavoured to make my place as convenient as any of us are able to do, for a per-

the obligations of their religion. With the attention to strangers for which Burke was so remarkable, he took them down to Beaconsfield; and it being summer, gave them up a large green-house for their separate use, where they prepared their food according to the rules of their *caste*, performed their ablutions, and discharged such other duties as the rites of their religion and their customs required, and as circumstances permitted. They found great pleasure in Mr. and Mrs. Burke's society, and were visited by many distinguished people whilst they sojourned at Beaconsfield. In the autumn they set out on their return to India, and on their arrival there, Ragonaut Row wrote to thank Mr. Burke for his kindness to his agents. The fragment of Burke's reply which is here given, was written probably at the end of the year 1782.

son so strictly observant as he was of all the rules and ceremonies of the religion to which he was born, and to which he strictly conformed, often at the manifest hazard of his life. To this I have been witness. We have, however, sir, derived one benefit from the instructions he has given us, relative to your ways of living; that whenever it shall be thought necessary to send Gentoos of a high *caste* to transact any business in this kingdom, on giving proper notice, and on obtaining proper licence from authority, for their coming, we shall be enabled to provide for them in such a manner, as greatly to lessen the difficulties in our intercourse, and to render as tolerable as possible to them a country where there are scarcely six good months in the year. The suffering this gentleman underwent at first was owing to the ignorance, not to the unkindness, of this nation.

I am sorry, sir, to inform you that I can give you no sort of hope of your ever obtaining the assistance of the troops you require. It is best at once to speak plainly, when it is not in our power to act.

Hummond Row is a faithful and able servant of yours, and Mamear Parsi used every exertion to second him. If your affairs have not succeeded to your wishes, it is no fault of theirs.

WILLIAM JONES, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDMUND BURKE.

Lamb's-buildings, Temple,
February 25, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,

You see how the little skiff of my hopes and fortunes is destined to be tossed by the waves and winds of political changes! Yet I bear my destiny without repining; and if my friends and country sustain no injury, will submit with cheerfulness to my ruin. I was just sailing into the mouth of the Ganges, when a sudden gust drove me off so violently, that though still *at sea*, I am as far from Bengal as ever. I must now request my friends to decide for me, (lest by my own decision I should incur the imputation of rashness,) whether I ought not to resume my profession and pursue it steadily, abandoning for ever all thoughts of the East, or whether I should still indulge hopes of being an India judge. To keep a middle course between the bar and the bench is, from the nature of the profession, impracticable. Will you permit me, before I set out for the Oxford circuit, to consult you, as my surest oracle, on a question so nearly affecting my happiness? I rejoice that your splendid talents and virtues will again be called forth at a moment so important to Britain;

but I cannot refrain from adding, because I love my country and my friends, what, if I loved myself as well, it might be prudent to suppress. I heard last night, with surprise and affliction, that the θήριον[5] was to continue in office. Now I can assure you from my own positive knowledge, (and I know him well,) that although he hates *our* species in general, yet his particular hatred is directed against none more virulently than against Lord North, and the friends of the late excellent Marquis. He will indeed make fair promises, and enter into engagements, because he is the most interested of mortals; but his ferocity in opposing the contractors' bill may convince you how little he thinks himself bound by his *compacts*. He will take a delight in obstructing all your plans, and will never say, "*Aha! I am satisfied*," until he has overthrown you. In fact you will not be ministers, but *tenants by copy of court-roll at the will of the lord*. If you remove him and put the seal in commission, his natural indolence is such that he will give you little trouble, because he will give himself none; but if he continue among you, his great joy will be, (and you may rely upon my intelligence,) to attack the reports of your select committee, to support all those whom you condemn, and to condemn all the measures which you may support. In a word, if *Caliban* remain in power,

[5] Lord Thurlow.

there will be no *Prospero* in this fascinated island.

As for me, I would either settle as a lawyer at Philadelphia, whither I have been invited, or retire on my small independence to Oxford, if I had not in England a very strong attachment, and many dear friends. That you are among the dearest and most respected of them is the pride and happiness of,

Your ever grateful and affectionate,

W. JONES.

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Friday morning, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,

I protest to you nothing could mortify me more than to think that you can for a moment believe me such a coxcomb, as to receive any advice or hint of any sort from you with any other feeling than the most serious and grateful attention. I did not express what I meant last night, or you would not think otherwise, which I am afraid by your note you do; and I shall not be set right in my own opinion, until I find that you do not continue to judge so of me, by your again taking the trouble to give me that advice and counsel, which

I must be an idiot not to know the value of; and which I declare, without a particle of compliment, I shall always feel as the truest act of friendship and condescension you can honour me with.

Believe me, dear sir,
With the greatest esteem and respect,
Your sincere and obedient servant,
R. B. SHERIDAN.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE, TO JOSEPH BULLOCK, ESQ.

Charles-street, March 3, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 26th ult., and I lament exceedingly that your services in parliament have not been rewarded according to their real merit. But this has been the lot of many worthy persons. For my part, I have no pretensions from the value of my labours; but if any friend were partial enough to think my endeavours worthy of notice, he could not fail to observe, that I have been upwards of seventeen years in parliament, and have attended almost all the business in it, or which related to it, with as much diligence, at least, as any other member in my time. During that time I have also been

in two offices, in which I have not been absolutely idle. In the first office I was, in all, about a year, of which year I was seven months in the House of Commons. In the other I was for about three months, and I do assure you that the first office was not a shilling advantage to me, and that both offices together did not pay the expenses which I incurred by both. This I do not say from an opinion that I have deserved better, but to let you see, that if I have not done much for my friends, that it was probably not from want of good inclinations towards them; because I have not done a great deal for myself: though I have certainly a natural desire, and a natural right, and duty too, to take care of my own interest, whenever I can do it consistently with my superior duty to the public.

At the moment I write, I do not know that I, or any friends of mine, are likely to have any power at all. The influence which has been formerly given to me, I never possessed,—at least, in any considerable degree; and I believe it is now pretty generally known that I did not. At present, whatever it might have been, it is considerably diminished. Whatever I have had for myself, was not the effect of partiality, or private favour, but of the rank which (however undeservedly,) I hold in parliament, and my ability and disposition to be of use by my industry; and

neither I, nor any connexion of mine, will ever obtain any thing considerable, but on the opinion of talents, and at the price of labour. The party I act with, if they should be called into the king's service, will come to an establishment reduced by more than forty considerable employments [6]; and the junction with a party the most numerous, and of some of the most weighty people in the kingdom, has made more claims than the old establishment could satisfy. But then, without that junction, they could have no chance of coming in at all.

All this, my dear Mr. Bullock, is manifest matter of fact, and not matter of apology, which might be either true or false. As to any interest I may hereafter have, I must say that there are persons heavy on my mind, whose improper behaviour to me does not obliterate my obligations to them. Them I shall certainly endeavour to serve, not as their merits and necessities require, for that is impossible; but as occasions shall offer, and such means as mine will permit. Indeed, those who are come to my very advanced time of life, without any participation of favour, can never hope to wind up their bottom for themselves, or their friends, as they could wish. That is impossible. As to yourself, I have always had much esteem

[6] Mr. Burke here alludes to the effect of his own bills recently passed through parliament.

and very sincere regards for you. I always had, and now have, a real desire of serving you. But as I am never authorized, in the best of my situations, to promise any thing, much less can I do it when I do not know that any of my friends will be comprehended in the approaching arrangement. In this uncertainty, I might well be dispensed, I dare say, in your opinion, from any answer at all; but I give you this full explanation from my respect to you, and to satisfy my own mind. I have the honour to be, with real regard and esteem,

Dear sir,
Your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

RICHARD BURKE, SENIOR, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Launceston, Monday morning,
March, 1783[7].

No post from London to-day, neither does any go from hence, and yet I must scribble. Alas! I have nothing else to do. This damned county, where I was so much sought for last summer, when I was not here, and for not coming to which I blamed myself so much,—this damned county

[7] The assizes of Launceston.

has not furnished me a single brief. What care I? If attorneys do not choose well for their clients, the fault is not mine, though the misfortune is. And yet there is a good entry, as I hear, for this spring circuit, in this county. I went to church yesterday, for the first time in an assize town. Do you think I could have lost the briefs by that? No matter, I learned there many things:—*Imprimis*, all the king's titles, and that he is in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, supreme judge. Indeed, I stole this; for the information was addressed, together with the prayer in which it was contained, elsewhere. I learned also, that, beyond a doubt, all men sprung from one pair; (for the time usually allotted to such discourses did not allow the preacher to trace civil society, laws, and government any higher;) I further heard and believed that Rome had several species of magistrates, such as kings, consuls, dictators, &c. I was, moreover, let into the secret of the bigoted, and idolatrous, and persecuting spirit of the church of Rome; and it was thereafter certified, that the judges of England were above, *not only conviction*, but corruption, owing to their having very large salaries; and finally, I prayed for the judges aforesaid, more especially for those of this our western circuit. I had also prayed for the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council. For one of them I most certainly did,

heartily; and now may God bless him, and those about him!

Monday evening.—I could not say, Amen! because I was interrupted by counsellors as idle as myself in the morning; I add it in the evening—Amen! A very close court, the door being kept shut, and the breathing of at least as many people as that court could hold, had rather a painful effect on me; a nausea, languor, swimming in the head, and general uneasiness, drove me out at one o'clock. After sitting at home a quarter of an hour, and finding myself somewhat relieved, I walked out into the road and fields till dinner time, when I found myself, as I now am, perfectly well. I mean, God willing, to continue so. May I meet you all as well as I am at this instant! My Jane,—shall I find you in that state? God grant it! I keep out of the court this evening, and having thus far renounced attendance, for want of business as a lawyer, I shall speculate on politics for want, or through fault of attendance. Mark me, then!

Taking it for granted that all negotiation ended on our part on Thursday night,—(Edmund, I forgot to congratulate you on your election to Brookes's,—for heaven's sake, be cautious at play!)—taking this for granted, *I* say, that Lord Gower will venture with the wreck of the present people, upon an assurance that for the present he will not

be opposed, and that at a decent time he will be joined by ———, *Multum in parvo.—Verb. sap.* —*Dixi!* Lord, how you laugh! With all my heart; I promise you that I shall be much better pleased to be laughed at, than complimented for my sagacity on this piece of politics. Now this is fairly ventured; for before this will leave my custody, the London Saturday's post will arrive; —to wit, to-morrow at half-past twelve. That post may bring me letters, and those letters may let me into what has been hitherto a secret,—that I am a coxcomb; or confirm me in an old and favourite opinion, that I am a very wise man. Mr. Burke, when I expressed a wish that a certain person should be driven to plead issuably, I was far from leaving him at liberty to conclude to the court;—the contrary, certainly. Much less did I wish to encourage a plea in bar, or even in abatement. I would have pleaded to a sur-rebutter; and then, if he would not put himself on the country, why then—how could I help it? However, as far as I understand it, we have demurred. If our demurrer be overruled, he will sign judgment, though at his own peril. We shall get no relief by motion, and *audita querela* is a tedious remedy; and God knows we have had too much of it. Here is the jargon of an anxious but not fretful mind, looking back on you all from the hills of Cornwall,—the duchy of Cornwall I mean.

Well, it is as good to be merry, though foolish, as sad and wise;—better, better!—so good night, and heaven help you all. Thank Champion heartily for me. Again, adieu, till two o'clock to-morrow.

Tuesday forenoon.—Now you see that I am so honest as not to blot out my wisdom of yesterday. I have received all your letters of Friday and Saturday; Champion's, Walker's, Edmund's, and Jane's; and my good friend's, Mr. St. Marie; and I give them all a thousand thanks. I really long for Jane's history of the twenty-four hours; and for ever praised be God, that she is in a way of being in health and spirits when she gives it!

All off on Thursday night;—on Friday the Duke gives in a cabinet! What could the leading steps be? Did the Duke give it, or send it? Well! I shall know in time. The king gone to get his *cue*. Very well,—yes, very well! Alas, Edmund, what do you tell me as to myself? I foresee every thing disagreeable and vexatious.

All this gives me a double appetite to the Admiralty. Would,—would it were attainable! The board is to be, as I hear from others, very strangely constructed. And I rely the more on their intelligence, as they have the cabinet very correct, and the difficulty which had arisen about placing one of them. Lord Sandwich to have the post-office, Lord Derby the duchy! Has

not Lord Ashburton got it for life? Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as Marquis of Rockingham, in case Lord Temple quits. This I like on one account. Well! I will teaze you no further;—God guide and bless you! adieu,—adieu! I am just setting off for Oakhampton, where I shall lie to night. Next day at Exeter. There, on Thursday morning, I shall see the Tuesday's (this night's) gazette. Thence to Taunton, and thence to London to whatever may be my lot. May I find you all in health, however else. Adieu, adieu!

RICHARD BURKE, SENIOR, ESQ., TO MRS. BURKE.

Paymaster's Hospitable-house,
August 4, 1783.

In bed at nine, and out of bed at nine. Oh, what hours you keep in the country! Sit down to dinner at six, and begin writing, after having dined, at a quarter past six.—Oh, how I live at the pay-office! Well, if I should be starved during your absence, I can't help it; and that I shall be starved seems not improbable. No possibility of getting from the treasury before five, and Hickey and Sir Joshua dine at four, and no other place in London to dine at;—very well. I went to English,—he had dined. Hither then I came,

and Mrs. M'Can furnished me with a slice of pickled salmon, and a glass of fair cool water, for dinner; to which Mrs. Marnor added a dessert of lamentations for what I had, and assurances for what I should have had, if I had given notice, —so much for that. I came from Richmond by water; that was truly delightful; especially as I swam part of the way, and was rowed the remainder. The boatmen, however, seemed more fatigued than I was, which I wondered at, having always thought swimming more laborious than rowing. I visited Lady Rockingham and King; the former had not been well, but was better, the latter *à l'ordinaire.* I was asked to dinner there at four, but that was impossible; so I lost a haunch of venison and the lord-mayor swan-hopping. If this is too much about myself, be informed that I have nothing else to write about. Not a word of news that I hear. Laurens is returned from Paris. I send you a whole packet of letters. It is well that you say "no matter" as to the paper you desired from your table-drawer, for, lo you! your table-drawer is locked. My Jane,—God bless you, and give you cheerful quiet. God bless you both. Love to the captain, and to the Hill, when you see them. It shall go hard with me, or I will be with you on Saturday. Adieu! alas! this is Monday,—Adieu!

ARTHUR PIGOT, ESQ.[5], TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

(Probably October, 1783.)

DEAR SIR,

I shall be particularly obliged to you to send me, as soon as ever you come in, so much of the bill, or instructions for the bill, as you have in the state in which it is; as it will very much forward my work. Indeed, I cannot begin till I get it; and, therefore, shall expect it impatiently. I would leave my servant to bring it, if I had one with me.

I am, dear sir,
Ever yours,
A. P.

Three o'clock.

Note in Mr. Burke's hand-writing:—

"From Mr. Pigot, who finished the India bill from my drafts."

[5] Afterwards Sir Arthur Pigot, and attorney-general in Lord Grenville's administration of 1806.

MR. WILLIAM LEECHMAN TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

College, Glasgow, December 6, 1783.

SIR,

I had the honour of your obliging and most acceptable letter of acceptance, in course of post, which I laid before the university at their first meeting[6]. They laid their commands on me to return you their most sincere thanks for the ready, unhesitating, and polite manner, in which you have complied with their desires. And they have also ordered me to assure you in their name, that at whatever time it shall be convenient for you to honour the university with your visit, (which is not expected sooner than the end of the session of parliament at the soonest,) they will take care to give you as little trouble, and to be as sparing of your time as possible.

You will, sir, probably have heard of the very valuable and princely donation, made by the late Dr. Hunter to the college, of his library, museum,

[6] Mr. Burke was elected lord rector of Glasgow on the 15th of November, 1783, and installed on the 10th of April following. He was again elected on the 15th of November, 1784, and installed on the 1st of September, 1785. He was present at Glasgow on both occasions of installation.

&c., and that three gentlemen in London, viz.—Doctors Fordyce, Pitcairn, and Coombe, are the trustees of that settlement. As it is matter of great consequence to the college to maintain a cordial correspondence and friendship with these gentlemen, we beg you will be pleased to do us the favour (at any time you are most at leisure from more important national business) to call at the museum of those gentlemen, and assure them in your own name, as a chief magistrate of the university, and in the name of the whole body, that we will at all times be ready to concert with them, as to the proper measures to carry Dr. Hunter's will into execution; so as to answer, in the most effectual manner, his public-spirited intentions, and, at the same time, to do the greatest honour to the memory of our most generous benefactor. The Marquis of Graham, our chancellor, called on them last spring at our desire; and we understood that his visit was acceptable to them, and they received him in a very polite manner. Allow me to say, we intend more than a mere ceremony in this matter; for, as by the doctor's settlement, things will not be finally adjusted for twenty or thirty years to come, many circumstances may occur to render mutual confidence of real importance to the interests of the university.

I beg leave further to acquaint you, that as we

have occasion for correspondence at London about university business, we will take the liberty, which we have been in use to take with all your predecessors in office, to write letters and to send papers to our solicitor under your cover. Our solicitor's name is Mr. Joshua Sharpe, of Lincoln's Inn.

As we know how much you must be engaged in the national business, we will expect no answer to this immediately; any time,—weeks, nay months, hence, will answer all our purposes.

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

WILL. LEECHMAN.

LORD MACARTNEY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Fort St. George, January 31, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

I can have no excuse for troubling you with a letter at present, but an unwillingness to let a dispatch depart for England from hence, without accompanying it with a few lines to you. They can contain little more than my good wishes for your welfare and reputation. There is little for me to say relative to public matters. The session of parliament having closed without any decision

upon Indian affairs, I take it for granted they are to be left to take their chance, under the wretched system and management which have so long conducted them. This idea is sufficient to make every man wish to withdraw from them, who values either his safety or his fame. It would ill suit my private affairs to do so suddenly, as my fortunes have been so little improved in the service; yet, nevertheless, that consideration would not retain me, if there was not a much higher one operating upon my mind. I mean, the depending negotiation for peace in this part of the world. Peace is so necessary, our affairs so loudly and peremptorily call for it, that I should be inexcusable if I did not endeavour, if possible, to bring it to a speedy and honourable conclusion before I quitted the scene. I took the liberty of telling you in a former letter, that if the most pointed attention were not paid to the affairs of India, and the first stations here filled with the ablest and honestest men that could be anywhere found, you might bid adieu to your empire in Asia. Every day's experience enforces this opinion in my mind; and convinces me, that if the remedy to the present disorders which pervade every limb of the company's constitution be not instantly and effectually applied, no subsequent tampering, no future nostrum or medicine, will recover the patient. The real fact is, that the mass of people in England

are either totally misguided, or misinformed, upon the subject. Those who have served in this country, and who have it most in their power to instruct, are themselves delinquents; and the advice which their own judgment ought to suggest, would be such a satire on themselves, that they will naturally withhold it.

Having no India views,—no bias or interest to mislead me, I have always given my sentiments to the company without disguise, upon the great line of their affairs. I have concealed nothing from them, but my ill opinion of particular individuals in their service. To divulge it in a public letter would be imprudent; because in this country, still more productive of evidence than any I know, it is vain to expect that you could bring a charge home to the principal; but it requires no great penetration to discover the frauds of office, or the impossibility of men's fairly acquiring great wealth, in a short time, who neither lend, trade, play, nor under-write. I doubt, that the true picture of things here, which I have given, is by no means more agreeable at home than it is at Madras; but I so well know that the loss of America originated in the ignorance and want of just information in ministers, that I could not conscientiously withhold such communication and opinions, as I imagined might at least guard them against similar errors, if not lead them into the right road. I have discharged my duty; and seeing, as I told

you in the beginning of this letter, the session conclude without any decision upon Indian affairs, I have made up my mind on the subject and resolved to retire, at the moment it shall be in my power to do it without prejudice to the company's service.

I have been now two years and a half governor of Madras, and my fortune has received an addition of £20,288, and no more. This, upon my honour, is the fact; and it arises solely from the savings of the company's allowances, which do not exceed 43,000 pagodas, or £17,200 per annum; for I never would accept a shilling for my own benefit, in gifts, presents, or gratuities of any kind whatsoever; but faithfully kept my engagements to the company without any deviation.

I have little now to add; as every thing I have not said, relative to this country, is contained in the general letters from this government, and in my dispatch of the 24th instant to the committee of secrecy of the court of directors, which, I presume, you regularly see. My health breaks fast, and within these two months more rapidly than ever, owing to the incessant fatigue of my station; which is now much increased by the absence of both my public and private secretaries, Messrs. Huddlestone and Staunton, whom I was obliged to depute to Tippoo, upon the negotiation for peace; not finding it easy to send others, whose capacity and integrity I could so much depend upon.

William Burke is now at Tanjore, and very well in health. I have, on every occasion, endeavoured to oblige him as far as was in my power, but I am afraid he is not satisfied with me. You will probably hear from Mr. Staunton by the first opportunity that offers from the Malabar coast. He is a very able man, and a very honest man. I have never been able to do any thing for him. His présent appointment, which I dare say will be disapproved by the directors, is not even bread for the little time it lasts.

Our friend Dunkin[7] is much esteemed and respected at Bengal. He would be a very proper person for a seat on the bench there, and would do great credit to those who might place him there. I do not know what line or patronage to apply to on this point, otherwise I should certainly give him the warmest recommendation in my power. At all hazards, I will mention him to Mr. Fox; and request of you, if you find an opportunity, to say that you know him, and that he is very deserving.

Adieu! I beg my best regards to Mrs. Burke, and to all your house, and that you will believe me to be, dear Burke,

Very sincerely yours,

MACARTNEY.

[7] Probably Sir William Dunkin, afterwards chief justice at Calcutta.

SIR WILLIAM JONES TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Gardens, near Calcutta, April 13, 1784.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

No good opportunity of writing to you has been neglected by me; though my letters have been short, as I propose to send you my observations at large on the present state of judicature in this country, and on the most practicable means of improving it; but I shall not have leisure to enlarge on those subjects till the long vacation, which I design to spend on the Ganges, visiting every remarkable place and considerable town on its banks, as high up as my time will allow me to proceed. Of politics you will hear nothing from me; because, as I have often told you, I have nothing to do with them in my judicial character; and as to literature, though I have much to write, yet I have much also to read, and many points to investigate, before I can send you a detail of my remarks and discoveries. I should not, therefore, have written now, merely to say that it is hot in April, or that mango-fish are in season; but a passage in a letter from the Bishop of St. Asaph [8], which I have just received, makes me desirous

[8] Dr. Jonathan Shipley, whose daughter Sir William Jones married.

of expostulating a little with you; and I request you to consider my expostulation as friendly, yet serious. You have declared, I find, that "if you *hear* of my *siding* with Hastings, you will do every thing in your power to get me recalled[9]." What! if you *hear it* only!—without examination,—without evidence! Ought you not, rather, as a friend, who, whilst you reproved me for my ardour of temper, have often praised me for integrity and disinterestedness, to reject any such information with disdain, as improbable and defamatory? Ought you not to know, from your long experience of my principles, that whilst I am a judge, I would rather perish than *side* with any man? The charter of justice, indeed, (and I am sorry for it,) makes me *multilateral;* it gives me an *equity* side, a *law* side, an *ecclesiastical* side, a *crown* side, an *admiralty* side, and—the worst of all—in the case of ordinances and regulations, a *legislative* side; but I neither have, nor will have, nor should any power or allurement on earth give me, a *political* side. As to Hastings, I am pleased with his conversation as a man of taste and a friend to letters. But whether his public conduct be wise or foolish, I shall not, in my present station, examine; and if I should live to mention it after examination in the House of Commons, I shall speak of it as it deserves, without extenuation, if

[9] Doubtless Mr. Burke never uttered the words here imputed to him.

it be reprehensible, and without fear of any man, if I think it laudable. In regard to him and the council in their *collective* capacity, it is my fixed opinion that the court ought in no case to obstruct the operations of government; and let those at home, (if there be such,) who would wholly disunite the judicial and executive powers here, be responsible to Britain for the consequences; but such a disunion shall no more take place, if any exertions of mine can prevent it, than an union for any political purpose with the *individual* members of the government. You see, my dear Burke, that I am not deprecating your resentment, or entreating you to moderate your thunder against me; for with the shield of justice and truth, I should not fear the most impetuous attack even of an *enemy*, but should use in my defence those weapons which God has given me; and though I had six sides, like a cube, yet, while I had no more, I should always fall, like that firm and regular solid, even and unchanged. It is impossible, therefore, that I can entertain apprehension of a *friend;* and I persuade myself that, if I should be assailed by others, (no just provocation, I promise you, shall be given by me,) your strongest tide of eloquence will be poured, like Ἀσσυριου ποταμοιο μεγας ῥοος, to defend the fortunes of,

My dear sir,
Your faithful and affectionate
W. JONES.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO LORD THURLOW.

March, 1785.

My Lord,

I am preparing to return to the country, after an unsuccessful attempt to remonstrate against the transfer of an immense sum of public money from the national service,—a transfer made, as I apprehend, without any proper inquiry into the foundation of these claims. The nature of the business in which your lordship knows that I have been engaged for many years, will readily suggest to you the particular object to which I allude [8]. The mode in which the transaction has been carried on, I apprehend, is not agreeable to law. This, although a weighty, is not the most material, part of the objection. The transaction in itself, and by its own operation, must produce consequences destructive to revenue, and fatal to the people who ought to pay it.

The matter, if this proceeding is erroneous, is no job of a hundred thousand, or two hundred

[8] Burke made his celebrated speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts on the 28th of February in this year; and it is to the measures pursued by government with regard to those debts that he alludes in this letter to Lord Thurlow, then lord chancellor.

thousand pounds; but the misapplication of public money of a magnitude scarcely credible: such a donation as, I believe, never was given to private men in such a manner, and on such grounds, since the beginning of the world.

In giving this hint, I am sure your lordship will do me the justice to suppose, that I should never have thought of conveying it to your lordship, if I meant any thing adverse to administration. The gentlemen concerned do not see the matter in the light that I do; and if they mistake, as the ablest men may do, when they come upon a matter of this extent and intricacy, without any previous acquaintance with the subject, and when they derive their information from those only who have a private interest in a determination against the public * * * * *[9]

It is, therefore, on a very amicable ground that I offer to state to you a weighty objection founded in important facts relative to this business, in which the honour of his majesty's government, and the welfare of his subjects, are most deeply concerned. I am far from wishing, and if I did wish it, I could not hope to effect my purpose with a man of your lordship's sagacity, to confine what I propose to a private communication, (unless you should think it best so to do,) which, in reality,

[9] This sentence is incomplete in the MS., which is only a copy; the reader will easily supply what is wanting.

is rather a judicial determination on property than a mere matter of state. I am ready that[10] his majesty shall order the foundation and tendency of these claims to be examined in an open council, to attend there, and there to meet any persons, either parties in the claim, or in the adjudication; and to submit such recorded facts and other evidence as will induce a reconsideration of what has been done, and may prevent mischiefs which will certainly and speedily happen without such revision.

In this immense mass of dark dealing, I have no doubt that there are some fair and legal claimants on the public revenue. Such claimants no man would go further than I should to support with the utmost zeal. But they can have no objection to entitle themselves by proving the clearness of their own demands, and that they are really creditors of the description they say they belong to. I apprehend, that, far from injuring them by a strict inquiry, they will be materially served by it; the funds for just claims will be enlarged by the removal of others; for if such discrimination is not made, the most powerful, who, in this case, must be the most doubtful creditors, will obtain for themselves a preference which will consume the fund, and the poor and helpless will be the last attended to.

[10] *I. e.* "supposing that."

If I do not deceive myself, my motives are clear from private interest and private malice. If your lordship shall be of opinion that I can be of any service in this affair, I shall obey your commands whenever you are pleased to signify them to me; if not, a line will tell me what is to be expected.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD SHACKLETON.

October 26, 1785.

MY DEAR SHACKLETON,

So friendly an anxiety as yours calls for my sincere acknowledgments, and for the most speedy relief which it is in my power to afford. Thank God it is in my power to tell you that the paragraph in the papers, which gave you uneasiness on my account, was not founded. Your friend,—my son, when I last heard from him, was well at Paris [11]. I was myself not ill, though (to confess some weakness,) I was not so composed and steady as I ought to have been. Richard had left me a few miles from Edinburgh, and sailed from the port

[11] It had been reported that Mr. Richard Burke, Jun., had perished at sea.

of Leith for Holland, where he wished to remain for two or three weeks. Calms and contrary winds put him into a place not far from Berwick; and he sailed from thence the fifth of September, the day preceding the dreadful hurricane which did so much mischief on the coast of Holland. Some persons, observing and remarking on my uneasiness, talked of the occasion, and thus furnished the crude materials, out of which the great artists in the newspapers were pleased to manufacture the paragraph which made such an impression on your good nature and friendship. Pray tell our amiable Miss Shackleton how much we are obliged to her kind solicitude. Assure Mrs. Shackleton and the worthy reigning Abraham, that we remember them most affectionately. I am not wholly unmindful of the kind and useful hints you have given. They are full of wisdom, propriety, and kindness.

I have had a very pleasant tour over a considerable part of Scotland, and have seen the works, both of God and man, in some new and striking forms. My wife and brother are very sincerely yours; and believe me, my oldest friend, most truly and cordially,

Yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE, TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

Beaconsfield, December 10, 1785.

I SHALL be happy to see you and Mr. Fox here any day this week; the sooner the better. I shall now say a few words on the business part of our correspondence. I entertained not the least doubt that Mr. Fox would take his part in the Bengal question [12], which *must* be brought on. He is certainly right:—we ought to be very careful not to charge what we are unable to prove. I only think it odd, after all that has passed, how he or any body can make any doubt of our exactness in this particular. If we understand by proof, the establishment of fact by evidence, agreeably to the nature of the transaction and the principles of jurisprudence, I think we can be under no difficulty. Most of the facts upon which we proceed, are confessed; some of them are boasted of. The labour will be on the *criminality* of the facts; where proof, as I apprehend, will

[12] The exhibition of articles of impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal; the first step towards which was taken by Mr. Burke in the House of Commons, on the 17th of February, 1786, on a motion for papers, which was carried.

not be contested. Guilt *resides* in the *intention.* But as we are before a tribunal which, having conceived a favourable opinion of Hastings, (or, what is of more moment, very favourable wishes for him,) they will not judge of his intentions by the acts, but they will qualify his acts by the presumed intentions. It is on this preposterous mode of judging that he has built all the apologies for his conduct which I have seen. Excuses, which in any criminal court would be considered with pity, as the straws at which poor wretches drowning will catch, and which are such as no prosecutor thinks it worth his while to reply to, will be admitted, in such a House of Commons as ours, as a solid defence. Mere impudence, which in all other cases would be thought infinitely to aggravate guilt, will with us be considered as the tone of innocence and conscious virtue. These are difficulties not arising from the nature of our case, but the circumstances of the time; they are of a sort that no care in the formation or execution of our plan can possibly remove. And in my opinion, after making these difficulties, to show that we are aware of them, they ought to make no part of our consideration. We know that we bring before a bribed tribunal a pre-judged cause. In that situation, all that we have to do is, to make a case strong in proof and in importance, and to draw inferences from it, justifiable in logic,

policy, and criminal justice. As to all the rest, it is vain and idle.

Perhaps my plan may not be the best for drawing in the greatest concurrence upon the vote, and making what is called a respectable minority. I should admit, if there were a prospect of such a minority as is nearly tantamount to a majority, and, in a second trial, is, in a manner, sure to produce one, the plan ought to have numbers in view as a principal consideration. With such a prospect before you, it is very often necessary to take away something from the force of your charge, in order to secure its effect. In the course of a long administration such as that of Mr. Hastings, which has been co-existent with several administrations at home, it has happened that some are involved with him in one sort of business, who stand clear in others, in which again a different description may feel themselves (or friends, who are as themselves,) directly or indirectly affected; to say nothing of the private favours which such multitudes have received, (which makes, at once, Mr. Hastings' crime and his indemnity,) and in which every party, without distinction, is engaged, in one or other of its members. Parties themselves have been so perfectly jumbled and confounded, that it is morally impossible to find any combination of them who can march with the whole body in orderly array upon the expedition before us.

With other prospects than ours, I know that we ought to exert all our dexterity in our selection, and not to aim a shot at the hunted deer, except where you are sure not to hit any other. This necessity I have experienced and submitted to (as in common sense I ought) in many instances. But all the reasons for such a conduct failing here, I find myself not in the least inclined to abandon any one solid ground of charge which I have taken up in any report, speech, or public proceeding whatsoever, or which I find strongly marked in the records which I have by me. My reason is this :—A parliamentary criminal proceeding is not, in its nature, within the ordinary resort of the law. Even in a temper less favourable to Indian delinquency than what is now generally prevalent, the people at large would not consider one or two acts, however striking, perhaps not three or four, as sufficient to call forth the reserved justice of the state. I confess, I partake myself so far of that coarse, vulgar equity, that if I found the general tenor of a man's conduct unexceptionable, I should hardly think the extreme remedies fit to be resorted to, on account of some wrong actions during many years' continuance in an arduous command. Of this I am certain, that a *general evil intention*, manifested through a long series and a great variety of acts, ought to have much greater weight with a public political tri-

bunal, than such detached and unrelated offences into which common human infirmity has often betrayed the most splendid characters in history. Such a series of offences, manifesting a corrupt, *habitual* evil intention, may be produced; and nothing but a series of such facts can furnish, in my opinion, a satisfactory proof of it.

In that case, I am little disposed to weaken my cause, in order to strengthen the importance of an adequate support. Shall we abandon the substance of our charge, (which is in the multitude and the perseverance in offences,) to fall in with Lord Titius or Mr. Caius, when Lord Titius or Mr. Caius are unable to give us substantial aid in the few mutilated particulars they leave us to proceed upon? Our friend, you say, is to consult many. He who is to please many in a business which in the first instance he makes his own, may be in the right to do so, though this perhaps is doubtful. But any man, whose only object is to acquit *himself* properly, ought to abstain from that general consultation, as from a poison. Speaking for myself, my business is not to consider what will convict Mr. Hastings, (a thing we all know to be impracticable,) but what will acquit and justify myself to those few persons, and to those distant times, which may take a concern in these affairs and in the actors in them. Those who may think otherwise, may have (I ought to say, undoubtedly

have,) intentions as good as mine, and a judgment much superior for the regulation of their own particular conduct. It might not become a man, situated like Mr. Fox, to move without a considerable retinue. He is in the right not to appear weak, if possible, because the opinion of strength leads to further strength; and without that strength, the manly scheme of politics in which he is engaged can never become prevalent. In a party light, and as a question to draw numbers, whatever modification we may bestow upon our motion, a worse cannot be chosen out of the whole bundle of political measures. It is, therefore, my opinion that the wisest course for Mr. Fox to pursue is, not to consider it as such. But as my intention is known and declared, and as I never stated it to be conceived in concert with any one, he will naturally support the question, as concurrent with his own opinion, and with his own principles, and not as a point he means to exert strength to carry; for this the known state of the country will be his justification. Mr. Fox, with regard to himself, has nothing at all to embarrass him in this business; but, as he means to call in the aid of other opinions, it is impossible for us to blend ourselves with them. They will not digest several very important matters, which you and I may think essential. They who could wish that nothing at all were done, will wish to have as little

done as can be. Do not we know that one or two, otherwise cordially with us, are of the very party with Mr. Hastings, and have publicly made *his* panegyric, and would not suffer even a remedial act, which was supposed to be grounded in some of its provisions on his misconduct? Do not we know that others, who were so far deluded by those who every way betrayed them, as in effect to renew the trust given to Mr. Hastings, after they had accumulated materials for his prosecution, will certainly advise a revision of those matters which they have been at least induced to tolerate? If, therefore, we do not resolve (I mean, if you and I *dually* do not resolve,) to consult only the cause, and not the support, I pledge myself to you that we shall neither have cause nor support. Whereas, if the matter is planned and settled without them, only taking care that they are well instructed, there are many things which they could never permit in consultation, which in debate they must support, or disgrace themselves for ever.

December 23, 1785.

I have sent you the first scene of the first act,—the Rohilla war. You will make it what it ought to be. You will see my view in the manner of drawing the articles; that is, not only to state the fact, but to assign the criminality, to fix the

species of that criminality, to mark its consequences, to anticipate the defence, and to select such circumstances as lead to presumptions of private corrupt views. By following this method, our resolutions (or articles of impeachment, as they may turn out,) will convey a tolerably clear historical state of the delinquencies, attending rather to the connexion of things than the order of time. They will, on this plan, likewise mark out the enormity of the offence, and point to those particulars which may interest the feelings of men, if any they have left; but without something of that kind I know nothing can be done.

Do you want the blue quarto? If you do, I will send it to you without delay, for I shall have no occasion for it. I believe most of the particulars are in the reports of the committee of secresy. I never read a transaction which contained such a number and variety of misdemeanours. It is a fistulous sore which runs into a hundred sinuosities. I am sure there are more than I have stated; but you are to judge whether there be enough of them marked, as you are of all the rest.

EDM. BURKE.

RICHARD BURKE, SENIOR, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Wells, Tuesday, 12 o'clock,
Summer Assizes, 1786.

MY DEAREST EDMUND,

An hour or two after I sent my letter to the post on Sunday, I received yours of the 18th, with a draft of your intended letter to the lord of the manor. Surely it is altogether proper. The value of the subject-matter is as nothing to you in itself, but (now that I, for the first time, hear of a demand of quit-rent,) it may be very serious in its consequences. I advise the letter to be sent. A copy you will of course keep. This pool is invaluable to him, as a means of vexation to you [1]. If he had the claws of a lion he would be very dangerous; but as he is, his hoofs, and even his voice, are sufficiently troublesome. Indeed, I fear that prudence will compel you to resist, in terror of the consequences, this attack, which I should think it

[1] The writer alludes to a difference between Mr. Burke and a neighbouring gentleman, as to the right of property in a large pond, on the road opposite to the gate of Gregories. The dispute was subsequently decided in a court of law in favour of Mr. Burke, and the claim to quit-rent abandoned.

otherwise foolish to resist. You love the country, —you must take it with the cattle who possess it, and the toads and attorneys which crawl on its surface. I have come out of court in the middle of a cause, in which a gentleman, lord of the manor, is defendant, who is now the universal object of attack in this county, after having ruined his character and injured his fortune, by having been formerly universal plaintiff. He harassed while he could, and he is now very sufficiently harassed himself; whilst with the juries, his name, as it stands plaintiff or defendant, is an index to the verdict. This may not be right in them; but in regard to him it is just. I return your prepared letter, which surely is right in all its parts.

God be praised for Lord Tichfield's recovery; he is too like his father to be lost.

Baron Hotham has been taken ill here, and has not, as yet, been able to go into court. He is, however, much better to-day. As to myself, though I have fallen from unfounded hopes, or rather idle wishes, yet I am here better than usual. I have five briefs;—more than ever I had here. I believe I am to lead in two very trifling ones. Yesterday, by soothing Baron Perryn, (who wants temper *more* than any thing else,) I was suffered to argue a point of law after his decision, (prematurely, before hearing me, the junior,) and I had the good fortune of changing his opinion. It was,

indeed, clearly with me; but my leader had not touched upon the exact point. Thus far, was well for me; but he paid it off upon my client by a peevish charge, which encouraged a vindictive jury to give much too great damages. *Rien à nous autres.* I stand forth in a very great and important cause for Harford as one of the Brass Company. I hope we shall do well. Lord! I make these things as important as Walter would; but what else can I write about? and, after all, these things are great to little lawyers.

My Jane, Richard, Edmund, adieu! I have not yet heard how Barrow came off at Gloucester. My cares are transferred, you see. On Thursday I go to Bristol. My Jane, (if any opportunity happens,) send me my spectacles. You may find some one going to London, who may send them covered up, by the mail coach, directed to me at Noble's. Adieu! Love to Miss Hickey. How is she?

RICH. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

Gerard-street, March 25, 1787.

SIR,

I have the honour of transmitting to you the copies of Mr. Anderson's and Mr. Middleton's

letters to the Court of Directors. Along with them I send you a copy of my own letter to the chairman, in consequence of this communication. You perceive the manner in which Anderson fights off; as to Hastings and the rest, probably their answers are not yet received; but when they come, they will, I presume, be of the same evasive nature with that of Anderson.

The business of the impeachment grows hourly to be more and more critical to the House of Commons, and to all the parties in it. Two things will be necessary,—a strong case and a full attendance. As to the former, it will not be to the interest of justice, or any of those concerned in our common cause, that, upon our nice distinctions, any point strong in criminality and in proof should be given up. It is upon this principle that the charges must be drawn; and if, upon submitting them to common lawyers and civilians, the best we can procure, it should be found that the impeachment can be maintained on those points, I am sure that not one vote in the House of Commons will be gained by narrowing ground, whilst we should appear with a more feeble and unimpressive cause than that which we are entitled to on the original merits.

In order to bring about the great primary object of a strong cause, the substance of the charge should be either left to my own discretion, or, what I should like much better, that we should find

some way of previously settling the plan of conduct. It is but too obvious, that a few words snatched behind the speaker's chair, can never put things on a clear and decisive footing. Public consultations on our legs in the House, must be still more inoperative. This way of proceeding, in our present situation, is neither right nor safe; and I, therefore, am obliged to call on you for a full hour's uninterrupted conversation upon what is already done, and what yet remains to do. The aspect of the House of Commons is enough to satisfy me that very good reasons may exist in your mind, why our conferences on this subject should not be very frequent nor very public. The time and place, therefore, you will settle according to your own conveniency; as to me, I have no managements. If no arrangement can be made with mutual concert, we shall be more distracted by occasional agreement than by uniform difference. In a situation like ours, a temporary confidence of business and accommodation is necessary to people otherwise adverse, who happen to coincide in some one important point. Without such communication, I shall certainly proceed with firmness and consistency, as far as my own judgment can serve for a guide; but I wish to clear myself of all part of the blame which might hereafter be imputed to my pursuing a course which any untoward event might denominate imprudent and unadvised.

As to the material point of numbers, means are

using on our side to call in as many as the lax discipline of oppositions can secure. With regard to your side, you will excuse the liberty I take, in suggesting that the idea of wholly separating the man from the minister, if carried substantially into effect, cannot fail of being infinitely mischievous; however, the internal circumstances of administration may make some appearance of that kind, and for some time expedient, but it ought not to continue over-long, or be at all over-done; for if Mr. Pitt does not speedily himself understand, and give others to understand, that his personal reputation is committed in this business, as manifestly it is, I am far from being able to answer for the ultimate success, when I consider the constitution of the late minorities, combined with the political description of the absentees. But I think it, in a manner, impossible that all this should not be felt by you and by Mr. Pitt. I shall, therefore, only take leave to add, that if ever there was a common national cause totally separated from party, it is this. A body of men in close connexion of common guilt, and common apprehension of danger, with a strong and just confidence of future power if they escape, with a degree of wealth and influence which, perhaps, even yourself have not calculated at any thing like its just rate, is not forming, but actually formed, in this country;—that this body is under Mr. Hastings as an Indian

leader, and will have very soon, if it has not already, an English political leader too. This body, if they should now obtain a triumph, will be too strong for your ministry, or for any ministry. I go further, and assert without the least shadow of hesitation, that it will turn out too strong for any description of merely natural interest that exists, or, on any probable speculation, can exist in our times. Nothing can rescue the country out of their hands, but our vigorous use of the present fortunate moment, which, if once lost, is never to be recovered, for breaking up this corrupt combination, by effectually crushing the leader and principal members of the corps. The triumph of that faction will not be over us, who are not the keepers of the parliamentary force, but over you; and it is not you who will govern them, but they who will tyrannize over you, and over the nation along with you. You have vindictive people to deal with, and you have gone too far to be forgiven. I do not know whether, setting aside the justice and honour of the nation, deeply involved in this business, you will think the political hints I have given you to be of importance. You who hold power, and are likely to hold it, are much more concerned in that question than I am, or can be.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

India-office, March 26, 1787.
Three o'clock.

SIR,

Owing to my being all night in the country, I only just now received your letter of yesterday's date. I have communicated it to Mr. Pitt. The motives which have actuated us in the business which your letter treats of, are of a nature too forcible to allow any competition in our minds between them and any political contingencies which may occur. From many reasons we cannot agree to take upon us any share in the management of the prosecution; but we have given, and shall continue to give, that support to it which appears to us consistent with national justice and the credit of the House of Commons; and I have not the least hesitation in meeting with you for an hour, at any time you please, to talk over the present stage of the business. I shall, without reserve, explain to you our present ideas; and if it is consistent with your own opinions to remove any difficulties which may have occurred to us upon any part of the future conduct of it, it would certainly tend to the ultimate success of the object we profess to

have in view. If otherwise, I trust there are no such differences of opinion as to retard the business being lodged in the House of Lords, with as much expedition as can be consistent with a due attention to the regularity and accuracy of the proceeding. I am obliged to go to the navy pay-office on some official business to-morrow forenoon; but if you will appoint a time with Mr. Sheridan any time on Wednesday forenoon, I shall have the honour of meeting with you at any time and place you think proper to appoint.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

April 20, 1787.

SIR,

This is not meant to introduce any discussion; it is solely submitted to your and Mr. Pitt's consideration, and requires no answer. I certainly agreed not to bring on any charges, except those mentioned, previously to the vote of impeachment, unless you yourselves should freely consent to it. To this I thought myself bound. On the other hand, I cannot say that any positive engagement

was made with me, that those charges, to which I was confined, should be agreed to; but I really understood it so. I had the least doubt of all as to the revenue charge, thinking it, next to that of the Rohillas, the most atrocious; nor is this the opinion of the moment. To put the whole landed interest of the country to auction, and farm out the estates, whatever their tenure might be, to the lowest of the black representatives of a few gentlemen at Calcutta, appeared to me a matter of such enormity, that if all the rest had been rejected, this must have stood. To put the poor remains of these landholders under the dominion of so known a villain as Gunga Govin Sing, whom no man ever called by a milder appellation than that I have used, was a measure, if possible, to top the former. The difficulty of getting rid of such a person, who has wound himself into the closest recesses of the company's affairs, even by those who most reprobate his conduct, adds greatly to Mr. Hastings' crimes. I wish, as a well-wisher to the cause of the general government of this country, that you would seriously consider, how a defence of putting power (as Mr. Shore[2] truly states it, and as Mr. Anderson at our bar admitted,) above all sort of control, into such cruel and oppressive hands, may in a manner necessitate Lord

[2] Afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

Cornwallis to keep him; or, at least, what countenance it will give to any faction which may persuade him to continue this monstrous abuse. As to the charge which is coming on, I must be in much greater uncertainty with regard to it, as not being, in my own opinion, (however I may think it, as I do think it, highly criminal,) nearly so enormous in its guilt as the last. I begin to be very apprehensive as to the figure we shall make in the House of Lords; and something too I am uneasy about the public judgment, by seeming voluntarily to have abandoned many charges. It may seem as if I thought the grounds of them not at all defensible, when it is supposed I am not able to defend myself on those which I bring forward. In this situation I shall be obliged to look a little about me.

I am, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. FRANCIS.

Gerard-street, April 20, 1787.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I cannot, with an honest appetite or clear conscience, sit down to my breakfast, unless I first give you an account, which will make your family breakfast as pleasant to you, as I wish all your

family meetings to be. Then I have the satisfaction of telling you, that, not in my judgment only, but in that of all who heard him, no man ever acquitted himself on a day of great expectation, to the full of the demand upon him, so well as Mr. Francis did yesterday[3]. He was clear, precise, forcible, and eloquent, in a high degree. No intricate business was ever better unravelled; and no iniquity ever placed so effectually to produce its natural horror and disgust. It is very little for the credit of those who are Mr. Francis's enemies, but it is infinitely to his, that they forced him to give a history of his whole public life. He did it in a most masterly manner, and with an address which the display of such a life ought very little to want, but which the prejudices of those whose lives are of a very different character made necessary. He did justice to the feelings of others too; and I assure you, madam, that the modesty of his defence was not the smallest part of its merit.

[3] Mr. Francis opened the charge of corrupt administration of the revenues of Bengal by Mr. Hastings, and took occasion to deny his being influenced by any motive of personal animosity in criminating that gentleman, which had been imputed to him in the debate on the 3rd of this month, when his nomination to the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to prepare articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings, was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 96 to 44.

All who heard him were delighted, except those whose mortification ought to give pleasure to every good mind. He was two hours and a half, or rather more, on his legs; and he never lost attention for a moment. Indeed, I believe, very few could have crowded so much matter into so small a space.

Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you, and the ladies, and Mr. Philip of Cambridge, if he is yet among you; he has a great example before him, in a father exerting some of the first talents that ever were given to a man in the cause of mankind.

Again and again I give you joy, and am with most unaffected respect and affection,

My dear madam,
Your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

P. S. I don't know whether I write very intelligibly; I made a sad debauch last night in some good company, where we drank the man we were so much obliged to in a bumper. Mr. F. ought to lose no time in taking the matter of his charge to be drawn up formally.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, June 19, 1787.

MY DEAR RICHARD,

All these things go by pulses, and have their good and their bad days. We ought never to look back, but to resolve to do better another time. I do not know anything which can make amends for practice, but premeditation; and that will do it infallibly, and it will more than supply its place for perfection, though not for readiness. I know a great man now on the bench, who was one of the greatest bar-men, and particularly is a great and ready parliamentary speaker, who told me that in the beginning of his practice, he did not trust himself, but in a manner wrote down the whole of his speech. I am sure it will be worth your while to consider every cause as an exercise; and be the matter what it will, though it were only *de tribus capellis*, to put your shoulders to it, and to give it the whole collected force of all your faculties. I need not say that it ought not to be the vicious taste that gave rise to the epigram *de tribus capellis*. I speak only of the pains and finish, which never can be thrown away. However,

I don't think you did amiss [4], but only that you are hard to be pleased with yourself; a thing natural enough for those who have a consciousness of what resources they possess.

The Duke of Portland called to inquire about your uncle, in his way to Cheltenham. They think they shall get to Woodstock to-night. We had a pleasant sprinkling yesterday; whether we shall have more or not, I don't know, but I am sure we yet want a good deal. Your uncle rode out, and is better. Adieu, adieu. God bless you!

Dinner. Mrs. Crewe come, but no news. What are you to do with your Polignacs and Deanes? They like to have something done about them.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

December 7, 1787.

SIR,

You will easily believe that, having nothing in the world so near my heart as the success of the present prosecution, I must feel the most sensible concern at anything like a difference with those

[4] Upon what occasion is not known; probably one of public speaking.

whose countenance is essential to that success. The event of Wednesday[5] was a blow I was not prepared to meet. It is true that from the discourses current among the gentlemen who compose the Bengal interest, I had not the least reason to doubt that the attempt upon Mr. Francis, made in the last session[6] with so little credit and effect, would be renewed in this. Their dread of that gentleman was very natural; and those who were enemies to the prosecution would obviously resort to the means which they well knew were the most effectual to defeat it. But the opinion universally expressed at the time of that extraordinary attempt, and the part which I recollected that you and the gentlemen on the treasury-bench took upon that occasion, left no apprehension upon my

[5] The refusal of the House of Commons to appoint Mr. Francis a manager of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings at the bar of the House of Lords.

[6] Mr. Burke here alludes to the division on the 3rd of April of this year. On that occasion, as has been stated in a former note, the House of Commons had refused to nominate Mr. Francis for the committee appointed to prepare articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings; but Mr. Dundas and other ministerial personages having voted in the minority, and the powerful speech of Mr. Francis on the 19th of that month, in which he disclaimed all personal animosity against the late governor-general of Bengal, having produced considerable effect, Mr. Burke seems to have thought that no successful opposition would be made to the nomination of Mr. Francis as a manager.

mind about the event. I never dreamed that it could be supported in the manner in which it was supported, last Wednesday.

I hope and trust that the part which Mr. Pitt took upon that day was from the impulse and impetuosity of gentlemen, who, though his friends in general, are mortal enemies to this proceeding; but on his further consultation with his own understanding, that we shall easily come to agree, and avoid unpleasant discussions in the House, about the means of restoring to the committee the assistance, in their unanimous opinion necessary to the performance of their trust.

Relying on the tacit faith implied in the arrangements of last session, none of us had reason to imagine, that when the very same business was continued in this, any of our members would be forced away from us. Upon that, as we thought, well-grounded confidence, a distribution of the parts of this prosecution was made among us; and those which we deemed the most important of all in point of criminality, and which demanded the most of local knowledge and official detail, were with general consent, and as of course, devolved upon Mr. Francis. He has perfectly prepared himself, and so prepared himself, that I run no risk at all in positively asserting, that if he is suffered to come forward, there is hardly a lord who will sit in judgment, that can resist the conviction he will carry to their minds; and that what he has

prepared would beat down the most determined prejudices, if prejudice could be supposed to exist in the minds of any who form that tribunal. I am not prepared to take up his part. I have only some knowledge of the facts and of the evidence in general. But to methodize, to combine, to distinguish, to explain, and to state, with the necessary force and clearness, a subject so remote from all the ordinary ideas of this country, requires a preparation which I shall not be able (if my talents and local knowledge were equal to those of Mr. Francis) to give to it. I have no bodily strength, or force of mind and memory, to go through those parts, together with the immense mass of matter which, independently of this unexpected burthen, is thrown upon me. As to other gentlemen, thinking themselves responsible only for their own portions of the business, they have not the least previous knowledge of these matters, which to manage requires a study apart.

You will be pleased to recollect that we have lost three old and experienced members of our committee,—Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu, and Sir Grey Cooper,—the first withdrawing himself as unequal at his time of life to the labour, the other two removed by occasional illness. In this situation Mr. Francis is forced from us. All the local knowledge of India is in the hands of the person prosecuted by the House of Commons. Those who are sent to support its charge, require and

can have but one man so qualified, and that one is now taken from us.

Pray be so good (little as I may be entitled to yours or Mr. Pitt's regard) to reflect on my condition, with a load upon my shoulders, the weight of which few can conceive, and which no description can exaggerate; and if not from justice and policy, yet out of generosity and compassion, let me have my natural support. I am willing to owe it to your humanity, to your condescension to my infirmity; and I shall (as far as honour and principle permit) acknowledge yours and Mr. Pitt's goodness on this occasion, as a favour to myself.

If I should not be so fortunate as to find Mr. Pitt and you disposed to a compliance with this my humble and earnest supplication, there is nothing left for me but to take care not to be wanting, by all the means in my power, to my cause and to my honour. However ministers may find themselves justified in the part they take, I should think myself the most degraded of men, and justly stigmatized by something more awful than the censure of kings, ministers, and Houses of Parliament, if I were quietly to see stigmatized, (so far as a vote of the House can do it,) in a manner not only atrocious and shocking in itself, but wholly unprecedented in the journals of parliament, a gentleman of merit, and my chief support in the cause I am engaged in. You must both of you despise me, if, whilst one resource

was left in the measures possible to be pursued in parliament, I should abandon my trust, my friend, and my associate in the public business.

Believe me, sir, it is with reluctance, very serious reluctance, that I can be driven to any thing beyond the most amicable discussion. But let it not be supposed a derogation from the wisdom of either of you, that I beg leave to suggest to you, that in no one thing, during my memory, have ministers hurt themselves more seriously, than in adopting any measures which had the air of personal persecution.

Permit me to add one word more, and to press it on your observation;—that, from this vote an opinion has gone abroad, that government is secretly adverse to the prosecution;—and I assure you, that I already know it has had an effect in keeping back evidence that on many parts would be decisive. They consider Mr. Hastings, at the bar as a criminal, to be in possession of the power of the state, and that their utter ruin must be the consequence of the truth they shall disclose. This is far from my opinion, but I know for certain it is theirs. I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

The gentlemen of India are grown so confident on late appearances, that they begin to flatter

themselves with the benefit of a private trial. If it were not for the assurance I had from you, which sets my mind at ease, I might begin to apprehend, from the assured and authoritative style of some of their discourses, that, after all, we should not have Westminster Hall for this trial.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

India-office, December 8, 1787.

SIR,

The vote of Wednesday did not surprise me when it was reported to me, for I was not present at the time. I certainly voted for Mr. Francis being of the committee last session, because, from the time that my judgment induced me to concur in the prosecution, I determined to leave the detail of the management (so far as I was concerned) in the hands of those who had brought forward, and were finally to conduct, the business. Although that was my ground of acting, I did not find it to be at all a general opinion, applied to the case of Mr. Francis. I never doubted that, the first moment an opportunity offered, that sentiment would appear to operate: you deceive yourself, if you conceive that idea to be confined to those

who are the enemies of the prosecution. It is not confined to any description of men in the House; and the more you put the question to the test, I am convinced you will find it to be more and more the determined resolution of a great majority of the House of Commons, not to permit Mr. Francis to represent them at the bar of the House of Lords. I have communicated your letter to Mr. Pitt, who, after the part he has taken, cannot be seriously believed by any person to be adverse to the prosecution because he has concurred in the vote of last Wednesday. He took the part on that occasion, which, under all the circumstances, he thought most becoming; but I can venture to assure you, he has not in his breast a single particle of inclination to persecute Mr. Francis; and if I can judge rightly of the bent of his disposition, a desire to concur in what was so earnestly wished for by you, would operate very decisively with him, if he did not feel it to be absolutely impossible for him to do so. Neither he, nor I, doubt of your having persuaded yourself of the importance of Mr. Francis, for the situation you urge him to be placed in; but, knowing as much of the subject as we conceive ourselves to do, we must be of opinion that your partiality for your friend, has led you to view the subject in too exaggerated a light. You are not deprived of the aid of Mr. Francis. He is not

entitled to the estimation in which you hold him, if he will be induced, from any personal considerations, to withhold his assistance from the other managers of the prosecution; and if he puts those materials, which he has prepared with so much industry, into the hands of very many of those who form the committee, the statement of them to the House of Lords will lose none of that effect which you suppose they would derive from the statement of Mr. Francis; and however new any one of the committee may at present be to the part which you have allotted to Mr. Francis, he certainly need not be so, with common application to the subject, at the time he shall have occasion to appear at the bar of the House of Lords.

The earnestness of your letter has led me into a longer explanation than I intended; and

I have the honour to remain, sir,
Your most obedient and most
humble servant,
HENRY DUNDAS.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

December 9, 1787.

SIR,

I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken to satisfy me concerning your refusal of my request. Not being very well in health, and finding all further discussion more likely to be troublesome to you than useful to myself, I shall not attempt to reply at large to what you have offered with regard to the majority of the House, and their dispositions towards Mr. Francis. Their tone is pretty high; though I cannot help expressing my apprehensions that this affair may not turn out as much to their credit as I wish all their measures to do; and I fear it will turn out very mischievously to the impeachment, which yourself, Mr. Pitt, and I, have so much at heart.

Of the motives which govern the majority in this business I do not presume to judge. As to their reasons, which I have never heard in debate, but which are circulated in conversation, they appear to me to go upon grounds that are to me entirely new and unlooked for. They think it argues malice in Mr. Francis, not to desert his

prosecution of Mr. Hastings, begun under the express injunctions of legal authority, because, in the course of that prosecution, Mr. Hastings had endeavoured to kill him, and had very nearly succeeded in that attempt. The general ground of argument, the morality of the principle, and the application of both to this case, are considerations far above my pitch of understanding.

As to the facility of supplying Mr. Francis's place, I have the misfortune of not being able to concur with you in opinion. These are matters in which no man can be instructed to speak, as from a brief; or, if he could or would speak, he could never be ready, if he were once engaged in the detail. That Mr. Francis might give us some secret assistance is true; but if he cannot act as a manager, he could never give it to us on the emergency of the instant occasion; and your experience will point out to you the consequences of seeming to be at a loss upon a trial. But I must confess I see, and I think on recollection you will see, some other difficulties. To acquiesce in stigmatizing a person as the worst of mankind, and at the same time to call for his assistance, appears to me not quite decent, nor quite consistent. To act towards him as a man of distinguished ill qualities, and expect from him an heroical self-denial, and virtues almost supernatural, are things to my poor understanding not

quite reconcileable. What he will do I know not; at present I have not courage enough to ask him. I am not partial to Mr. Francis. I have no ground for partiality towards him. As Mr. Hastings never did me any injury, or refused me any request, so I have never asked any favour whatever from Mr. Francis, nor ever received any from him, except what I received in my share of the credit which this country acquired in his honourable, able, and upright administration.

I have troubled you more than I intended. My concern for what has happened is very sincere.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM FAWKENER, ESQ. [6]

January 30, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I am just informed of a fact which, if I could suppose true, would give me great uneasiness. An appeal to the king in council had been directed by act of parliament on a procedure against certain Mussulman magistrates at Patna, in which

[6] Clerk of the privy-council.

Sir E. Impey had given a judgment which to both Houses of Parliament seemed liable to great objection. This appeal has slept for seven years, but is now brought forward in the very moment when a charge is depending in parliament against Sir E. Impey on account of this very judgment. I hear also that the directors of the East India Company have ordered their solicitor, (who is at the same time solicitor for Mr. Hastings, now under impeachment by the House of Commons,) to prepare a case for council, in order for trial. I recollect well the conduct of certain of the directors (relative to these unhappy magistrates on whose behalf they were complainants) of a most flagitious nature, tending to collude with the judge against whom they complained, and to betray and ruin the person they pretended to protect. Parliament was so sensible of this, that they came, after a solemn deliberation, to a strong resolution against the late Mr. Sullivan upon that subject; and this stands on their journals. When I consider all the circumstances of this case, and the withholding all communication with the members of parliament who conducted that business, I think it must give rise to suspicions of collusion on this occasion, which may be highly disreputable to the national honour and justice, if the reports I hear are true, which I hope they are not. May I beg you will be so obliging as to let me know

whether any, and what proceedings are had upon this appeal. I beg pardon for giving you this trouble.

I have the honour to be, dear sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

May 1, 1788.

SIR,

Being obliged by a complaint, under which I have suffered for some days, to absent myself from my duty, that by a short relaxation I may be enabled to perform it hereafter with more vigour and effect, I am humbly to request that you will be pleased to communicate the letter which I have now the honour of writing to you to the House; as, in substance, what I would respectfully offer if I were in my place.

I have been given to understand that a complaint would be made, or an inquiry to the same effect would be proposed, concerning the expense incurred in conducting the impeachment ordered by the House against Mr. Hastings, for many high crimes and misdemeanours committed during his fourteen years' government in India.

I am to acquaint you, sir, that the services, for which the expense has been incurred by the solicitor appointed to the managers by the House, have been generally authorized by me; and that his memorials for the advance of the money from the treasury have been likewise signed by me, as conceiving myself authorized so to do, by the confidence reposed in me by the committee.

The services which, in consequence of that trust, have been by me directed, appeared to me essential to the success of the prosecution. In those more especially ordered by the committee, I have fully and cheerfully concurred, on the same principle. The expense either actually incurred or rationally in prospect, when compared with the object to be obtained, with the obstructions that are to be removed, with the extent of the matter, and the ability of the nation, I look upon to be slight indeed, and of very subordinate consideration; and I beg leave to assure you, that nothing but my total want of power and influence could have prevented the endeavours for the relief of India from being much more expensive than they have been, for the more early attainment and the more permanent security of the great ends which, in common, we have in view.

Whether the circumstances of the public are such as to make justice too expensive a virtue for this country, is not for me to determine. If means

cannot be found for vindicating the national honour from reproach, I am sorry for it; for, certainly, means more than sufficient have been readily found, through every species of extortion, oppression, and peculation, for the accomplishment of the national disgrace.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect and consideration, sir,

'Your most obedient and most humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

P. S. If no proposition is made concerning this business, or no discourse whatsoever arises about it, of course you will not trouble the House with this letter. In either of the above cases, I solicit the favour of your making the communication I have taken the liberty of desiring.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MESSRS. RICHARD BURKE.

Beconsfield, June 25, 1788.

WE suppose you, by the time of your receiving this, in possession of your bloodless dignity[7], saving

[7] The elder Richard, brother of Edmund Burke, was Recorder of Bristol, where young Richard, the son of Edmund, was at this time with his uncle. Mr. R. Burke had been elected Recorder by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of that city, on the 10th December, 1783, in the room

women, and not destroying men, and devouring no one thing upon earth. If turtle be a sin, God help the wicked; and you, Richard the younger, I hope, find it a luxury reconcileable with the coolness and simplicity of Bristol water. As to Sam, and me, we have just risen from our *siesta*, and have no news, but of a very fine rain to bring forward our grain, balanced by the devouring of nine of our finest young turkeys. So God sends meat, but the devil sends guests. It were better we had some of the latter's worst company. But I think, however, the rain has more good in it than even the fox has of evil. Aylesbury to-morrow;—I tremble. I am laying in my stock of resignation[8]. I apologized to Dudley Long for not dining with him, according to my appointment, and told him that a disagreeable sort of duty carried me to Aylesbury. He wrote me a short note containing only these words—"Curse on your duties, they've

of Lord Ashburton. In 1784, (June 19,) the freedom of the city was voted to him, and in 1786, (May 10,) he was chosen a member of the Common Council. He held the office of Recorder till his death, which occurred February 5, 1794. He was succeeded in the office of Recorder of Bristol by Sir Vicary Gibbs, afterwards chief justice of the court of Common Pleas.

[8] There was an action to be tried at Aylesbury in consequence of Mr. Waller, of Hall-Barn, whose property adjoined Mr. Burke's estate at Gregories, having claimed some manorial rights over it. Mr. Burke resisted and gained his suit.

undone my dinner." C. called here this morning. He has made a very desperate threat, and declares that Mr. Waller has behaved so ill to him, that he intends *to become a gentleman.* I hope he will think better of it before he executes this rash resolution. He talks of providing arms,—and paying the game duty! In the first paroxysm of his passion, he vowed he would not leave a hare in Mr. Waller's park. His land (he explained himself) comes up so near to that part of the latter, and is so intermixed with it, that *if* he could kill any thing he shoots at, (which he says he cannot,) and *if* he could pay the duty, (of which he is not yet certain,) he would cut off every soul of all the hares in the country. But this, he said, was only what he declared in his wrath. What will please you better, was what he said rather more deliberately; that is, that he has a farm not far from hence, which he conceives to possess manorial rights, and that he means to take the opinion of one of you upon his title, and lay his deeds before you; and that if you give him any heart on the subject, he will depute a gamekeeper; and then, lo you! he executes all his threats by deputy, and by deputy becomes a leporicide and a gentleman. Adieu! enjoy the first act of the Bourgeois Gentilhomme, and the first book of the heroic war of C. against Waller. I shall be one of the allies; and Mrs. C., like another Juno, was very busy in stirring up the

war. God Almighty bless you, and send you to us safe and sound; and then let the dog worry the hog, or the hog the dog, whilst your heads are safe, I say, with as much truth to you, as the grand-vizier Caprili did to the French minister, with politeness.

Wednesday night. No Aylesbury till Friday; so things are better than I imagined. It now not only rains, but pours.

DR. RICHARD BROCKLESBY TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Norfolk-street, July 2, 1788.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

My veneration of your public conduct for many years past, and my real affection for your private virtues, and transcendent worth, made me yesterday take a liberty with you, in a moment's conversation at my house, to make you an instant present of £1000, which for years past, by will, I had destined, as a testimony of my regard, on my decease.

This you modestly desired me not to think of; but I told you what I now repeat, that, *unfavoured* as I have lived a long life, unnoticed professionally by any party of men, and though unknown at court, I am rich enough to spare to virtue (what others waste in vice) the above sum, and

still reserve an annual income greater than I spend. I shall receive at the India House a bill I have discounted for £1000 on the 4th of next month, and then shall be happy that you will accept this proof of my sincere love and esteem; and, let me add, "Si res ampla domi similisque affectibus esset," I should be happy to repeat the like every year, until I saw your merit rewarded as it ought to be at court.

That you may long live, for talents an ornament to human kind, and for your country, your friends, and family, the same happy man in prosperity, as you have ever approved yourself whilst withdrawn from the sunshine of a court,—this, with much more, (if any thing can be better,) is the fervent wish of,

My dear Burke,

Your sincere and ever affectionate humble servant,

RICHARD BROCKLESBY.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO DR. RICHARD BROCKLESBY.

Gerard-street, July 17, 1788.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

You wished me to return you only a verbal answer to the letter of extraordinary kindness which you left upon my table in Gerard-street, when

I was last in town. In truth, it is hard to give it any proper answer, either verbally or in writing; or to express in any way the sense I have of your friendship. That friendship has commenced many years since, and continued without intermission to this hour, by a series of good offices on your part, without any power of returning them on mine. But you are kind enough not only to pass by all this, but to take for merit the cause of my incapacity to make any kind of return for the services I receive of all descriptions. I am under no apprehension from writing this, or from letting you know that I consider your steady and deliberate good opinion of me as a real honour to me, and to the principles we entertain in common. You have thought of me in your will; but you choose to anticipate the legal period, and the natural, and to give me my legacy when my receiving it can be mixed with no regret. You tell me, too, that it will prove of no inconvenience to yourself, or those you mean to succeed to you,—the only conditions upon which I could consent to profit of an earlier or later will. Your delicacy would prevent you from receiving this acknowledgment of your living legacy under my hand. But it becomes me to leave that testimony in your power to preserve or destroy it, at your pleasure, not at mine. Indeed, my dear friend, I shall never be ashamed to have it known, that I am obliged to

one who never can be capable of converting his kindness into a burthen, nor to profess how sincerely and unalterably

I am, my dear Doctor,

Your most affectionate and faithful humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

[The latter end of November, 1788 [9].]

MY DEAR FOX,

If I have not been to see you before this time, it was not owing to my not having missed you in your absence, or my not having much rejoiced in your return. But I know that you are indifferent to every thing in friendship but the substance; and all proceedings of ceremony have for many years been out of the question between you and me. When you wish to see me, say as much to my son, or my brother, and I shall

[9] Mr. Fox was in Italy when he was informed of the king's illness, and the probable necessity for the appointment of a Regency. He immediately set off on his return to England, where he arrived on the 24th November. Parliament had met on the 20th, to which day it had been prorogued, when both houses adjourned to the 4th December, without doing any other business.

be in town in a few hours after I hear from them. I mean to continue here until you call on me; and I find myself perfectly easy, from the implicit confidence that I have in you and the Duke, and the certainty I am in, that you two will do the best for the general advantage of the cause, and for your own and our common reputation. In that state of mind I feel no desire whatsoever of interfering, especially as too great an infusion of various and heterogeneous opinions may embarrass that decision, which it seems to me so necessary that you should come to, and for which I do not think a great deal of time is allowed you. Perhaps it is not your interest that this state of things should continue long, even supposing that the exigencies of government would suffer it to remain on its present footing. But I speak without book. I remember a story of Fitzpatrick in his American campaign, that he used to say to the officers who were in the same tent before they were up, that the only meals they had to consider how they were to procure for that day, were breakfast, dinner, and supper. I am worse off, for there are five meals necessary, and I do not know at present how to feel secure of one of them, —the king, the prince, the lords, the commons, and the people. As to the first, the physicians, whose report is to settle the state, and who are now, therefore, the men in power,—what answer

they will give to interrogatories, as to the nature and probable duration of the king's complaint, the probability of cure, the danger of relapse upon apparent recovery, and the like, I am utterly a stranger to all this. But it is not right you should be long so, for much will hinge on it. It is fit that you should be thoroughly acquainted with their answers, which can be only had by a previous examination. The ministers have probably taken these opinions. The prince, in a matter so interesting to himself, politically, personally, and now as the head of the royal family, has full as good a right to these opinions as these gentlemen can pretend to; and nothing can make it improper for him to have them taken before such persons of weight and consequence in the country as he may choose to call in. I think it will be a crude business, that their first examination should be at the bar of the House of Lords, or House of Commons. Examined they must be before we can take any step,—whether we can confide this examination to a committee of both houses, or whether we ought, or not, to have a committee of actual inspection, is for you to consider. The great point is, in my opinion, not to let the ministers take the lead in the settlement. They are men, undoubtedly, in legal situations of trust, to perform such functions as can be performed in office without resort to the crown; but

the king's confidential servants they certainly are not: and not only the rights of other members are on a par with theirs, but all ideas of decorum, and pre-audience, on the subject of the king, are out of the question. I mention this to you, not as supposing that you and the rest of our friends are not aware of it, but from my having observed, when I was in town, that the ministers were talked of as if things were in their ordinary course; and, our language guiding and not following our ideas on this occasion, it was supposed that both the communication of the state of the king's health, and the propositions in consequence of it, were to be expected from *them*. This is an inter-regnum; and the suffering the office-people to be considered as persons to whose wisdom the government is to look for its future form, may be neither quite reputable or altogether advantageous to you. Might it not be better for the prince, at once to assure himself, to communicate the king's melancholy state by a message to the two Houses, and to desire their counsel and support in such an exigency? It would put him forward with advantage in the eyes of the people; it would teach them to look on him with respect, as a person possessed of the spirit of command; and it would, I am persuaded, stifle an hundred cabals, both in parliament and elsewhere, in their very cradle, which would, if they were cherished

by his apparent remissness and indecision, produce to him a vexatious and disgraceful regency and reign. But I am going farther than I intended. God bless you. There is a good deal to be done for your security and credit, supposing the prince's dispositions to you to be all they are represented; and that I believe them to be. Your business formerly was only to take care of your own honour. I hope you have now another trust. It is a great deal that the proscription is taken off; but, at the same time, the effects of twenty-eight years of systematic endeavours to destroy you, cannot be done away with ease. You are to act a great, and though not a discouraging, a difficult part; and in a scene which is wholly new. If you cannot succeed in it, the thing is desperate. Adieu!

Yours ever,

EDM. BURKE.

PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Bath, January 2, 1789.

BY coming to this place I have had an opportunity which, probably, I should not have met with any where else, of conversing at full length with Mr. Fox about the actual state and future conduct of the impeachment. I think I found him, and I am sure I left him, in a better temper on the subject

than former appearances, or perhaps my own misapprehensions, had led me to expect. We agreed at once to consider the case as it stood, without recurring to any thing that could not be recalled. This agreement gave me many facilities, which I could not have had, if I had been obliged to mix justification with debate. It is but justice to him to say, that he wisely, handsomely, and amicably cleared the question at once of every topic that was not essential to it. I began with admitting (as the basis of our future proceedings) a proposition, of the truth of which, in my inmost judgment, I am not convinced,—that Mr. Hastings will, at all events, be acquitted. I stated to him my opinion, with many reasons for it, that Mr. Hastings would make no defence,—certainly not a special one; that he would be found guilty of one charge at least; and that then the favour he enjoys would be employed to make the penalty a very light one. This is the course the chancellor will take to screen himself, and to satisfy all parties. But be the event what it may, we are to proceed with vigour, and at least secure an honourable retreat. So says Mr. Fox, as firmly and as heartily as I do. I need not attempt to give you the particulars of so long a conversation. The conclusion and result of it was what I would have dictated if I could,—that he would observe on the evidence in the first part of the bribery charge, that Sheridan (which I undertake to make good)

shall observe on the remainder; and that as little as possible, certainly no more than you like, of the future burden shall be thrown upon *you*. A little demur occurred, and that but for a moment, on the necessity of insisting on the contracts. He dreads, as I do, the effect of any operations on one part, of which the limitation is not seen. Depend upon it, our best friends will not march, unless they can perceive a period to their journey. He agrees with us that the contracts are necessary as appendant to the bribery. But how, and by whom, the task can be performed with most vigour, and with an exposition, as it might be, at once brief and perspicuous, must be immediately considered and provided for. Write to Troward to prepare a syllabus of the evidence on which Mr. Fox is to observe. When we have reason on our side, it is a delightful advantage to have to deal with a rational mind. Mr. Anstruther desires no better than that his part should be left exclusively to himself. He behaves himself very well, and deserves to be indulged. Mr. Hastings is here; his dejection is visible to every one, and greater than ever. You may be sure, very sure, that all is not so well with him as he expected. Major Scott said yesterday to Mr. Crawford, "Dundas is ruining India." Dr. Laurence, I conclude, has given you the intelligence he picked up at the India House. Nevertheless, I send you his letter, which I read to Mr. Fox. You see plainly that Lord

Cornwallis is taking his grounds in time, to clear himself at a future day, and to show that he was only in at the death. I proceed from hence to-morrow, to Lord Palmerston's, where I shall stay a week; and then to business with a brilliant appetite. If you have any occasion to write, direct to Broadlands, near Rumsey. Our friend Barham and others gave a very handsome entertainment last night to all the French, who are not a few, in this city. The Duke of Luxembourg, Calonne, Fox, and I, played at whist. Keep this letter to yourself; and whenever you think of contracts, remember what a profitable thing it is to *contract.* Farewell.

P. FRANCIS.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

Beconsfield, January 24, 1789.

I STAYED at Brooks' on Tuesday night, in hopes of seeing you, until after twelve. I had a good deal of discourse with Pelham [10], who gave me leave to flatter myself that you and he might dine with me, and pass a night here, between this and Monday. We have means of feeding you, though without our cook, but the dairy-maid is not a bad

[10] Probably the Hon. Thomas Pelham, afterwards Earl of Chichester, father of the present earl.

hand at a pinch; and we have just killed a sheep, which, though large and fat, is, I believe, full six years old, and very fine meat. I have already, I think, received some small benefit to my health by coming into the country; but this view to health, though far from unnecessary to me, was not the chief cause of my present retreat. I began to find that I was grown rather too anxious; and had begun to discover to myself and to others a solicitude relative to the present state of affairs, which, though their strange condition might well warrant it in others, is certainly less suitable to my time of life, in which all emotions are less allowed; and to which, most certainly, all human concerns ought in reason to become more indifferent, than to those who have work to do, and a good deal of day, and of inexhausted strength to do it in. I sincerely wish to withdraw myself from this scene for good and all; but, unluckily, the India business binds me in point of honour; and, whilst I am waiting for that, comes across another[11] of a kind totally different from any that has hitherto been seen in this country, and which has been attended with consequences very different from those which ought to have been expected in this country, or in any country, from such an event. It is true I had been taught by some late proceedings, and by the character of the person principally concerned, to look for something

[11] "Another" is the nominative to the verb "comes."

extraordinary. With a strong sense of this, my opinion was that the prince ought to have *done* what has been *said* it was his right to do; and which might have been as safely done as was unsafely said. He ought himself to have gone down to the House of Lords, and to *them* by himself, and to the House of Commons by *message*, to have communicated the king's condition, and to have desired the advice and assistance of the two Houses. His friends would then have been the *proposers*, and his enemies the *opposers*, which would have been a great advantage. The proceedings in council ought also to have originated from him; whereas we admitted the *official* ministers as the king's *confidential* servants, when he had no confidence to give. The plans originated from them. We satisfied ourselves with the place of objectors and opposers,—a weak post always; and we went out with the spirit (if it may be so called) of *inferiority*, and of a mere common opposition, with the Prince of Wales, Regent in designation, and future King, at our head; he unable to support us, and we unable to support him. Though I went to town strongly impressed with this idea, which I stated to Fox, when I saw him in his bed, and to others, it met so ill a reception from all to whom I mentioned it, and it seemed then a matter of course, that the men who remained in place, (as Pitt and the chancellor did,) without character or efficiency

in law, were under an exclusive obligation to take the lead; and some were of opinion that they ought to be called upon and stimulated to the production of their plans, I was really overborne with this, I may say, almost universal, conceit; so much so, that I gave over pressing my own, and wrote to my brother then here, that I found it necessary to give it up, and even to change it; and on this he wrote me a strong remonstrance. Afterwards I was little consulted. This error of ours (if such it was) is fundamental, and perhaps the cause of all our subsequent disasters. I don't trouble you with these remarks as complaining of what was done, or as laying too much weight on my first opinions. In truth, things have turned out so contrary to all my rational speculation in several instances, that I dare not be very positive in what appears to me most advisable, nor am I at all disposed very severely to censure the proceedings most adverse to my own ideas. I throw out these things to you, and wish to put you in possession of my thoughts, that, if they meet with a reception in your mind, you may urge them in time and place with a force which, for many reasons, (perhaps some of personal fault, or defect, or excess in myself, but most certainly from a sort of habit of having what I suggest go for nothing,) I can no more hope for. I look back to any thing that has been done or omitted, for no other purpose than to guide our

proceedings in future. In the first place I observe, that though there have been a very few consultations upon particular measures, there have been none at all *de summa rerum*. It has never been discussed, whether, all things taken together, in our present situation, it would not be the best or least evil course, for the public and the prince, and possibly, in the end, for the party, that the prince should surrender himself to his enemies and ours. Of one thing I am quite certain, that if the two Houses, animated by a number of addresses to the prince and of instructions to the members, should be bold enough to reserve all their pretended principles, (as in case of such addresses and instructions they certainly will do,) and demand of the prince-regent to keep in these ministers, I believe it will be found very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to resist such a requisition. It has always hitherto been thought wise, rather to foresee such an extremity, and to act in the foresight, than to submit to it when it happens; to make peace whilst there is some faint appearance of choice left on the subject, has hitherto been the policy. If that surrender should be thought necessary, then it will be for the consideration of our friends, how to do it in the manner most honourable to themselves, and the best fitted to make an impression on the public; and this, I think, would best be done in the way of a strong, well-reasoned memorial on the sub-

ject, advising the prince, for the sake of the public tranquillity, and to prevent further outrages on the constitution, to yield to the present exigence, thanking him for the justice he was willing to do to the king's subjects, and for his equity in delaying so long to yield to so wicked a proscription as that projected. This, in my poor judgment, ought to be signed by all the lords and commoners amongst us, and possibly by other notables in the country; and then, without a formal secession, to absent ourselves from parliament until favourable circumstances should call us to it. I am far from being certain that this method (this of yielding,) would not be the best, considering who the prince is, and who, and of what stuff, we are. But if we choose the other way, which is, at all events, to fight it out against a majority in the two Houses, and a very great, bold, and active party without doors, making, for aught I know, the majority of the nation, then I am sure we ought to prepare ourselves for such a combat in a different manner, and to act in it with a very different spirit from any thing which has ever yet appeared amongst us. In the first place we ought to change that tone of calm reasoning which certainly does not belong to great and affecting interests, and which has no effect, but to chill and discourage those upon whose active exertions we must depend much more than on their cold

judgment. Our style of argument, so very different from that by which Lord North was run down, has another ill-effect. I know it increases the boldness of some of those who are thus bold, less from the courage of their original temperament than from the air of inferiority, debasement, and dejection, under which we have appeared for some years past. In daring every thing they see they risk nothing. Far from apprehending any mischief from our future just resentment, they are not troubled with any degree of present disgrace, or even with a hard word, or a reflection on their character,—two or three trifling instances excepted. I suppose a more excellent speech than Fox's last has never been delivered in any House of Parliament; full of weighty argument, eloquently enforced, and richly, though soberly, decorated. But we must all be sensible that it was a speech which might be spoken upon an important difference between the best friends, and where the parties had the very best opinion of each other's general intentions for the public good. Mr. Pitt commended, as he had reason to do, the singular moderation of a speech Mr. Fox had made before, with an oblique reflection on those who had debated in another manner. If a foreseen coalition with Mr. Pitt should make this style of debate advisable for Mr. Fox, the word ought to be given to others, who may bring much mischief

on themselves, when such a coalition shall be made, for having spoken of Mr. Pitt's conduct as highly corrupt, factious, and criminal; and, in the mean time, they may be considered as hot and intemperate zealots of a party, with the main springs of whose politics they are not acquainted, so far as to the general style of debate. I will trouble you, on this point, with a word on the use he may make of the degree of strength we possess in both Houses:—We are a minority; but then we are a very large minority; and I never knew an instance in which such numbers did not keep a majority in considerable awe. This was the case in a parliament of recognized authority. But, in the present case, it is universally admitted that the acts of the two Houses are not legal, but to be legalized hereafter, and that our proceedings are not founded upon any thing but necessity. The submission, therefore, of the smaller number to the greater, is a mere voluntary act, and not an acquiescence in a legal decision. I see no sort of reason to hinder us from protesting on the journals; or if they prevent us from that, from publishing strong manifestoes signed with our names. Our conduct cannot be more irregular than theirs. If it is objected, that this principle might lead us a great deal further, I confess it; but then, their principle would lead them further too; and they have, in fact, gone to ten times worse and more

serious lengths against the substance and the solid maxims of our government, than we can be suspected of going, who, should we take the steps I suggest, only trespass against form and decorum. But whilst they neither attend to form or to substance, and we are the slaves of form, it is self-evident that we do not engage upon equal terms. I do not dwell upon this point so much for the sake of this measure, (which I wish rather we did not think forbidden than that I pressingly recommend,) but for another and more serious reason. When I consider the change of Mr. Pitt's language, I am convinced that an intention is entertained of addressing the prince to keep him in power. To the last day's debate, he constantly spoke of himself as virtually out of place, and of Mr. Fox as minister in certain designation. That day he totally changed his note. His friend Mr. Rolle had arrived with his address from Devonshire. Are any on our part to advise the prince not to comply with that address? Or are we to consider ourselves as bound by the faith which Mr. Sheridan has held on the part of the prince, that he will comply with the requisition of the House of Commons? To what to attribute the two voluntary declarations made by Sheridan on that subject, especially the last, I am wholly at a loss. If the prince has authorized him to speak in this manner, all that I have said or have to say, on this side of the alter-

native, is vain and useless. We must submit, and there is an end of it. Even without this declaration, the difficulty in opposing such an address, though from an House framed on principles directly contradictory to these addresses, would be very great. I should contend as much as any one, perhaps more, for the constitutional propriety of the king's submitting, in every part of his executive government, to the advice of parliament. But this, like every other principle, can bear a practical superstructure of only a certain weight. If the two Houses, without any sort of reason, merely from faction and caprice, should attempt to arrogate to themselves, under the name of advice, the whole power and authority of the crown, the monarchy would be an useless incumbrance on the country, if it were not able to make a stand against such attempts. If, then, such a stand is to be made, my opinion is, first, that the way ought to be prepared for it, by a previous strong remonstrance to the House of Commons from Westminster, against their whole proceedings. I am told we may depend upon Westminster. If we may, then I think it, from its vicinity, and the habitation in it of so many people from all parts of the kingdom (which make it a sort of general representative of the whole), of more importance than any other whatsoever, if properly used, and if the means are taken, which were taken, on the accession of the

present royal family, by the Duke of Newcastle and others, to keep up and direct a spirit capable of seconding their petitions and addresses. I am not, in general, very fond of these things; but on occasions they must be used, and I hope they are not among the *artes perditæ*. They have the monied interest; let us use the interest of those whose property is their freedom. Other places will probably follow; but, so far as I can discern, no attempt has yet been made to do more than merely to prevent the corporations, or people, from appearing against us, Bristol excepted, where my brother and his friends in the corporation attempted more, but did not succeed. I should recommend that the same should be attempted where it might be more likely to succeed; but what I contend for in all these attempts is, that we should not at all hold ourselves on the *defensive;* a part which, in such affairs as these, has never failed to bring ruin on those who have chosen to occupy it. The people, to be animated, must seem to have some motive to *action;* and accusation has more to engage their attention than apology, which always implies at least a possibility of guilt;—it is something abject at best. In order to prevent where we can do no better, or to act where we can act, I am clear that none but a corps of observation ought to attend parliament. We ought to give over all thoughts of division; and the mem-

bers who have any interest ought to be sent down to their several districts. It was the present king and the present ministers who have made, and who continue, this parliament out of doors. It is now fixed, and it is for us to take our advantage of the actual state of the country, which is to the best of their power employed against us; at least, until we shall be furnished with the means of establishing the constitutional bodies of the kingdom in the degree of sober independence, and decent respect, which they ought to enjoy. Whilst these and other obvious measures are going on abroad, the great security for their success, or the great remedy for their failure, is in the conduct of the prince himself. On that more depends than on all the rest. All his actions, and all his declarations, ought to be regular, and the consequences of a plan; and if he refuses to comply with the addresses, he ought, once for all, to give them an answer, which should be as much reasoned as his situation will admit, and which will serve for a manifesto. All his written proceedings must be so many manifestoes; for he will not be in government by being appointed regent, but only in a situation to contend for it. Dead, cold, formal pieces, containing no sentiment to interest the feelings, and no animated argument to go to the understanding, may serve well enough when power is secure and able to stand on its own founda-

tions; but in this precarious show of government, a party must be made, and it must be made as parties are formed in other cases. There is not one rule, principle, or maxim, of a settled government that would be useful to us,—that of general good conduct excepted. That which I should chiefly rely upon, in all these manifestoes, is a sentiment of dignity and independence, and an indifference to the object unless it can be held on those terms. If this, indeed, be not supported by a degree of courage, either natural or infused, and a *real* resolution rather to forfeit every thing than his own honour, and the safety of those embarked with him in the same bottom, to be sure, such a style of speaking would be unsuitable and mischievous; but if the conduct and declarations are of a piece, I think they can hardly fail of success in the end;—I say in the *end*, for we deceive ourselves woefully if we are not at the very opening of a dreadful struggle. All these and every thing else, however, depend upon that; which if nobody has spirit and integrity enough to inculcate into the prince, he is, and we are, ruined. He must marry into one of the sovereign houses of Europe. Till then he will be liable to every suspicion, and to daily insult. He will not be considered as one of the corps of princes, nor aggregated to that body, which people here, more even than in other countries, are made to look at

with respect. There must be a queen for the women, or a person to represent one, else *this* queen will have them all. I say this independently of the suggestion concerning Mrs. Fitzherbert, which I know to have great weight, and much the greatest in the extremities of the kingdom. No king in Europe, who is not married, or has not been so: no prince appears settled, unless he puts himself into the situation of the father of a family.

I began this with a notion that I could bring all I had to say into a few short heads; but I have been drawn into a length that I did not expect. One thing or other has taken me off; so that I must deliver myself the letter which I thought was to bring you hither. Perhaps what I have thrown down is of little moment; at any rate it is in safe hands,—it is in the hands of one who will pardon and will conceal my weakness [12]. Adieu,

And believe me ever, sincerely and
affectionately, yours,
EDM. BURKE.

[12] This, and one which precedes addressed to Mr. Fox, are the only letters of importance upon the Regency question obtained from Mr. Burke's correspondents, or found amongst his papers. He has left many memoranda for speeches and arguments upon the subject, but so blotted and imperfect as to be incapable of arrangement for publication.

The letter to Mr. Windham here given, shows that Burke was not much consulted nor his opinions adopted, on this delicate and difficult subject; and he writes in a memorandum for a speech delivered on the 22nd December, 1788, "I know

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MONS. DUPONT [13].

October, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

We are extremely happy in your giving us leave to promise ourselves a renewal of the pleasure we formerly had in your company at Beconsfield and in London. It was too lively to be speedily forgotten on our part; and we are highly flattered to find that you keep so exactly in your memory all the particulars of the few attentions which you were so good to accept from us during your stay

no more of the inside of Carlton House than I do of Buckingham House." Subsequently, but at a late period of the discussion, the prince appears to have required Mr. Burke's attendance, and a letter from H. R. H. to this effect, dated the 8th February, 1789, has been found amongst the papers. The Regency bill passed the House of Commons on the 12th of that month.

[13] Prior, in his Life of Burke, gives part of this letter as addressed to M. Menonville, but it seems without doubt to be the letter alluded to in the introduction to the "Reflections on the Revolution in France," published the next year. That work, written in the form of a letter, was addressed to the same person as this letter of October, 1789; and the person was M. Dupont, who afterwards translated the work into French. To the same person Mr. Burke addressed his letter of the 28th October, 1790, upon the character of Henry the Fourth of France.

in England. We indulge ourselves in the hope that you will be able to execute what you intend in our favour; and that we shall be more fortunate in the coming spring, than we were in the last.

You have reason to imagine that I have not been as early as I ought, in acquainting you with my thankful acceptance of the correspondence you have been pleased to offer. Do not think me insensible to the honour you have done me. I confess I did hesitate for a time, on a doubt, whether it would be prudent to yield to my earnest desire of such a correspondence.

Your frank and ingenuous manner of writing would be ill answered by a cold, dry, and guarded reserve on my part. It would, indeed, be adverse to my habits and my nature, to make use of that sort of caution in my intercourse with any friend. Besides, as you are pleased to think that your splendid flame of liberty was first lighted up at my faint and glimmering taper, I thought you had a right to call upon me for my undisguised sentiments on whatever related to that subject. On the other hand, I was not without apprehension, that in this free mode of intercourse I might say something, not only disagreeable to your formed opinions upon points on which, of all others, we are most impatient of contradiction, but not pleasing to the power which should happen to be prevalent at the time of your receiving my

letter. I was well aware that, in seasons of jealousy, suspicion is vigilant and active; that it is not extremely scrupulous in its means of inquiry; not perfectly equitable in its judgments; and not altogether deliberate in its resolutions. In the ill-connected and inconclusive logic of the passions, whatever may appear blameable is easily transferred from the guilty writer to the innocent receiver. It is an awkward as well as unpleasant accident; but it is one that has sometimes happened. A man may be made a martyr to tenets the most opposite to his own. At length a friend of mine, lately come from Paris, informed me that heats are beginning to abate, and that intercourse is thought to be more safe. This has given me some courage; and the reflection that the sentiments of a person of no more consideration than I am, either abroad or at home, could be of little consequence to the success of any cause or any party, has at length decided me to accept of the honour you are willing to confer upon me.

You may easily believe, that I have had my eyes turned, with great curiosity, to the astonishing scene now displayed in France. It has certainly given rise in my mind to many reflections, and to some emotions. These are natural and unavoidable; but it would ill become me to be too ready in forming a positive opinion upon matters transacted in a country, with the correct political map of which I must be very imperfectly

acquainted. Things, indeed, have already happened so much beyond the scope of all speculation, that persons of infinitely more sagacity than I am, ought to be ashamed of any thing like confidence in their reasoning upon the operation of any principle, or the effect of any measure. It would become me, least of all, to be so confident, who ought, at my time of life, to have well learned the important lesson of self-distrust,—a lesson of no small value in company with the best information, but which alone can make any sort of amends for our not having learned other lessons so well as it was our business to learn them. I beg you, once for all, to apply this corrective of the diffidence I have, on my own judgment, to whatever I may happen to say with more positiveness than suits my knowledge and situation. If I should seem any where to express myself in the language of disapprobation, be so good as to consider it as no more than the expression of doubt.

You hope, sir, that I think the French deserving of liberty. I certainly do. I certainly think that all men who desire it, deserve it. It is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry. It is our inheritance. It is the birthright of our species. We cannot forfeit our right to it, but by what forfeits our title to the privileges of our kind. I mean the abuse, or oblivion, of our rational faculties, and a ferocious indocility which makes us prompt to wrong and violence,

destroys our social nature, and transforms us into something little better than the description of wild beasts. To men so degraded, a state of strong constraint is a sort of necessary substitute for freedom; since, bad as it is, it may deliver them in some measure from the worst of all slavery,—that is, the despotism of their own blind and brutal passions.

You have kindly said, that you began to love freedom from your intercourse with me. Permit me then to continue our conversation, and to tell you what the freedom is that I love, and that to which I think all men entitled. This is the more necessary, because, of all the loose terms in the world, liberty is the most indefinite. It is not solitary, unconnected, individual, selfish liberty, as if every man was to regulate the whole of his conduct by his own will. The liberty I mean is *social* freedom. It is that state of things in which liberty is secured by the equality of restraint. A constitution of things in which the liberty of no one man, and no body of men, and no number of men, can find means to trespass on the liberty of any person, or any description of persons, in the society. This kind of liberty is, indeed, but another name for justice; ascertained by wise laws, and secured by well-constructed institutions. I am sure that liberty, so incorporated, and in a manner identified with justice, must be infinitely dear to every one who is capable of conceiving

what it is. But whenever a separation is made between liberty and justice, neither is, in my opinion, safe. I do not believe that men ever did submit, certain I am that they never ought to have submitted, to the arbitrary pleasure of one man; but, under circumstances in which the arbitrary pleasure of many persons in the community pressed with an intolerable hardship upon the just and equal rights of their fellows, such a choice might be made, as among evils. The moment *will* is set above reason and justice, in any community, a great question may arise in sober minds, in what part or portion of the community that dangerous dominion of *will* may be the least mischievously placed.

If I think all men who cultivate justice, entitled to liberty, and, when joined in states, entitled to a constitution framed to perpetuate and secure it, you may be assured, sir, that I think your countrymen eminently worthy of a blessing which is peculiarly adapted to noble, generous, and humane natures. Such I found the French, when, more than fifteen years ago, I had the happiness, though but for too short a time, of visiting your country; and I trust their character is not altered since that period.

I have nothing to check my wishes towards the establishment of a solid and rational scheme of liberty in France. On the subject of the relative power of nations, I may have my prejudices; but I envy internal freedom, security, and good order,

to none. When, therefore, I shall learn that, in France, the citizen, by whatever description he is qualified, is in a perfect state of legal security, with regard to his life,—to his property,—to the uncontrolled disposal of his person,—to the free use of his industry and his faculties:—When I hear that he is protected in the beneficial enjoyment of the estates to which, by the course of settled law, he was born, or is provided with a fair compensation for them;—that he is maintained in the full fruition of the advantages belonging to the state and condition of life in which he had lawfully engaged himself, or is supplied with a substantial, equitable, equivalent:—When I am assured that a simple citizen may decently express his sentiments upon public affairs, without hazard to his life or safety, even though against a predominant and fashionable opinion:—When I know all this of France, I shall be as well pleased as every one must be, who has not forgot the general communion of mankind, nor lost his natural sympathy, in local and accidental connexions.

If a constitution is settled in France upon those principles, and calculated for those ends, I believe there is no man in this country whose heart and voice would not go along with you. I am sure it will give me, for one, a heartfelt pleasure when I hear that, in France, the great public assemblies, the natural securities for individual freedom, are perfectly free themselves;—when there can be

no suspicion that they are under the coercion of a military power of any description;—when it may be truly said, that no armed force can be seen, which is not called into existence by their creative voice, and which must not instantly disappear at their dissolving word;—when such assemblies, after being freely chosen, shall proceed with the weight of magistracy, and not with the arts of candidates;—when they do not find themselves under the necessity of feeding one part of the community at the grievous charge of other parts, as necessitous as those who are so fed;—when they are not obliged (in order to flatter those who have their lives in their disposal) to tolerate acts of doubtful influence on commerce and on agriculture; and for the sake of a precarious relief, under temporary scarcity, to sow (if I may be allowed the expression) the seeds of lasting want;—when they are not compelled daily to stimulate an irregular and juvenile imagination for supplies, which they are not in a condition firmly to demand;—when they are not obliged to diet the state from hand to mouth, upon the casual alms of choice, fancy, vanity, or caprice, on which plan the value of the object to the public which receives, often bears no sort of proportion to the loss of the individual who gives;—when they are not necessitated to call for contributions to be estimated on the conscience of the contributor, by which

the most pernicious sorts of exemptions and immunities may be established,—by which virtue is taxed and vice privileged, and honour and public spirit are obliged to bear the burdens of craft, selfishness, and avarice;—when they shall not be driven to be the instruments of the violence of others from a sense of their own weakness, and from a want of authority to assess equal and proportioned charges upon all, they are not compelled to lay a strong hand upon the possessions of a part;—when, under the exigencies of the state, (aggravated, if not caused, by the imbecility of their own government, and of all government,) they are not obliged to resort to *confiscation* to supply the defect of *taxation*, and thereby to hold out a pernicious example, to teach the different descriptions of the community to prey upon one another;—when they abstain religiously from all general and extra-judicial declarations concerning the property of the subject;—when they look with horror upon all arbitrary decisions in their legislative capacity, striking at prescriptive right, long undisturbed possession, opposing an uninterrupted stream of regular judicial determinations, by which sort of decisions they are conscious no man's possession could be safe, and individual property, to the very idea, would be extinguished;—when I see your great sovereign bodies, your now supreme power, in this condition of deliberative freedom,

and guided by these or similar principles in acting and forbearing, I shall be happy to behold in assemblies whose name is venerable to my understanding and dear to my heart, an authority, a dignity, a moderation, which, in all countries and governments, ought ever to accompany the collected reason and representative majesty of the commonwealth.

I shall rejoice no less in seeing a judicial power established in France, correspondent to such a legislature as I have presumed to hint at, and worthy to second it in its endeavours to secure the freedom and property of the subject. When your courts of justice shall obtain an ascertained condition, before they are made to decide on the condition of other men;—when they shall not be called upon to take cognizance of public offences, whilst they themselves are considered only to exist as a tolerated abuse;—when, under doubts of the legality of their rules of decision, their forms and modes of proceeding, and even of the validity of that system of authority to which they owe their existence;—when, amidst circumstances of suspense, fear, and humiliation, they shall not be put to judge on the lives, liberties, properties, or estimation of their fellow-citizens;—when they are not called upon to put any man to his trial upon undefined crimes of state, not ascertained by any previous rule, statute, or course of precedent;

—when victims shall not be snatched from the fury of the people, to be brought before a tribunal, itself subject to the effects of the same fury, and where the acquittal of the parties accused, might only place the judge in the situation of the criminal;—when I see tribunals placed in this state of independence of every thing but law, and with a clear law for their direction,—as a true lover of equal justice, (under the shadow of which alone true liberty can live,) I shall rejoice in seeing such a happy order established in France, as much as I do in my consciousness that an order of the same kind, or one not very remote from it, has been long settled, and I hope on a firm foundation, in England. I am not so narrow-minded as to be unable to conceive that the same object may be attained in many ways, and perhaps in ways very different from those which we have followed in this country. If this real *practical* liberty, with a government powerful to protect, impotent to evade it, be established, or is in a fair train of being established in the democracy, or rather collection of democracies, which seem to be chosen for the future frame of society in France, it is not my having long enjoyed a sober share of freedom, under a qualified monarchy, that shall render me incapable of admiring and praising your system of republics. I should rejoice, even though England should hereafter be reckoned

only as one among the happy nations, and should no longer retain her proud distinction, her monopoly of fame for a practical constitution, in which the grand secret had been found, of reconciling a government of real energy for all foreign and all domestic purposes, with the most perfect security to the liberty and safety of individuals. The government, whatever its name or form may be, that shall be found substantially and practically to unite these advantages, will most merit the applause of all discerning men.

But if (for in my present want of information I must only speak hypothetically,) neither your great assemblies, nor your judicatures, nor your municipalities, act, and forbear to act, in the particulars, upon the principles, and in the spirit that I have stated, I must delay my congratulations on your acquisition of liberty. You may have made a revolution, but not a reformation. You may have subverted monarchy, but not recovered freedom.

You see, sir, that I have merely confined myself in my few observations on what has been done and is doing in France, to the topics of the liberty, property, and safety of the subjects. I have not said much on the influence of the present measures upon your country, as a state. It is not my business, as a citizen of the world; and it is un-

necessary to take up much time about it, as it is sufficiently visible.

You are now to live in a new order of things, under a plan of government of which no man can speak from experience. Your talents, your public spirit, and your fortune, give you fair pretensions to a considerable share in it. Your settlement may be at hand; but that it is still at some distance, is more likely. The French may be yet to go through more transmigrations. They may pass, as one of our poets says, "through many varieties of untried being," before their state obtains its final form. In that progress through chaos and darkness, you will find it necessary (at all times it is more or less so) to fix rules to keep your life and conduct in some steady course. You have theories enough concerning the rights of men;—it may not be amiss to add a small degree of attention to their nature and disposition. It is with man in the concrete;—it is with common human life, and human actions, you are to be concerned. I have taken so many liberties with you, that I am almost got the length of venturing to suggest something which may appear in the assuming tone of advice. You will, however, be so good as to receive my very few hints with your usual indulgence, though some of them, I confess, are not in the taste of this enlightened age; and, indeed, are no better than the late ripe fruit of

mere experience. Never wholly separate in your mind the merits of any political question, from the men who are concerned in it. You will be told, that if a measure is good, what have you to do with the character and views of those who bring it forward. But designing men never separate their plans from their interests; and, if you assist them in their schemes, you will find the pretended good, in the end, thrown aside or perverted, and the interested object alone compassed, and that, perhaps, through your means. The power of bad men is no indifferent thing.

At this moment you may not perceive the full sense of this rule; but you will recollect it when the cases are before you;—you will then see and find its use. It will often keep your virtue from becoming a tool of the ambition and ill designs of others. Let me add what I think has some connexion with the rule I mentioned,—that you ought not to be so fond of any political object, as not to think the means of compassing it a serious consideration. No man is less disposed than I am to put you under the tuition of a petty pedantic scruple, in the management of arduous affairs. All I recommend is, that whenever the sacrifice of any subordinate point of morality, or of honour, or even of common liberal sentiment and feeling is called for, one ought to be tolerably sure that the object is worth it. Nothing is good, but in pro-

portion and with reference. There are several who give an air of consequence to very petty designs and actions, by the crimes through which they make their way to their objects. Whatever is obtained smoothly and by easy means, appears of no value in their eyes. But when violent measures are in agitation, one ought to be pretty clear that there are no others to which we can resort, and that a predilection from character to such methods is not the true cause of their being proposed. The state was reformed by Sylla and by Cæsar; but the Cornelian law and the Julian law were not worth the proscription. The pride of the Roman nobility deserved a check; but I cannot, for that reason, admire the conduct of Cinna, and Marius, and Saturninus.

I admit that evils may be so very great and urgent, that other evils are to be submitted to for the mere hope of their removal. A war, for instance, may be necessary, and we know what are the rights of war; but before we use those rights, we ought to be clearly in the state which alone can justify them; and not, in the very fold of peace and security, by a bloody sophistry, to act towards any persons at once as citizens and as enemies, and, without the necessary formalities and evident distinctive lines of war, to exercise upon our countrymen the most dreadful of all hostilities. Strong party contentions, and a very

violent opposition to our desires and opinions, are not war, nor can justify any one of its operations.

One form of government may be better than another, and this difference may be worth a struggle. I think so. I do not mean to treat any of those forms which are often the contrivances of deep human wisdom (not the rights of men, as some people, in my opinion, not very wisely, talk of them) with slight or disrespect; nor do I mean to level them.

A positively vicious and abusive government ought to be changed,—and, if necessary, by violence,—if it cannot be (as sometimes it is the case) reformed. But when the question is concerning the more or the less *perfection* in the organization of a government, the allowance to *means* is not of so much latitude. There is, by the essential fundamental constitution of things, a radical infirmity in all human contrivances; and the weakness is often so attached to the very perfection of our political mechanism, that some defect in it,—something that stops short of its principle,—something that controls, that mitigates, that moderates it,—becomes a necessary corrective to the evils that the theoretic perfection would produce. I am pretty sure it often is so; and this truth may be exemplified abundantly.

It is true that every defect is not of course

such a corrective as I state; but supposing it is not, an imperfect good is still a good. The defect may be tolerable, and may be removed at some future time. In that case, prudence (in all things a virtue, in politics, the first of virtues,) will lead us rather to acquiesce in some qualified plan, that does not come up to the full perfection of the abstract idea, than to push for the more perfect, which cannot be attained without tearing to pieces the whole contexture of the commonwealth, and creating a heart-ache in a thousand worthy bosoms. In that case, combining the means and end, the less perfect is the more desirable. The *means* to any end being first in order, are *immediate* in their good or their evil;—they are always, in a manner, *certainties.* The *end* is doubly problematical; first, whether it is to be attained; then, whether, supposing it attained, we obtain the true object we sought for.

But allow it in any degree probable, that theoretic and practical perfection may differ,—that an object pure and absolute may not be so good as one lowered, mixed, and qualified; then, what we abate in our demand, in favour of moderation and justice, and tenderness to individuals, would be neither more nor less than a real improvement which a wise legislator would make, if he had no collateral motive whatsoever, and only looked, in the formation of his scheme, to its own independ-

ent ends and purposes. Would it then be right to make way, through temerity and crime, to a form of things which, when obtained, evident reason, perhaps imperious necessity, would compel us to alter, with the disgrace of inconsistency in our conduct, and of want of foresight in our designs?

Believe me, sir, in all changes in the state, moderation is a virtue, not only amiable but powerful. It is a disposing, arranging, conciliating, cementing virtue. In the formation of new constitutions, it is in its province. Great powers reside in those who can make great changes. Their own moderation is their only check; and if this virtue is not paramount in their minds, their acts will taste more of their power than of their wisdom, or their benevolence. Whatever they do will be in extremes; it will be crude, harsh, precipitate. It will be submitted to with grudging and reluctance. Revenge will be smothered and hoarded, and the duration of schemes marked in that temper, will be as precarious as their establishment was odious. This virtue of moderation (which times and situations will clearly distinguish from the counterfeits of pusillanimity and indecision) is the virtue only of superior minds. It requires a deep courage, and full of reflection, to be temperate when the voice of multitudes (the specious mimic of fame and

reputation) passes judgment against you. The impetuous desire of an unthinking public will endure no course, but what conducts to splendid and perilous extremes. Then, to dare to be fearful, when all about you are full of presumption and confidence, and when those who are bold at the hazard of others would punish your caution and disaffection, is to show a mind prepared for its trial; it discovers, in the midst of general levity, a self-possessing and collected character, which, sooner or later, bids fair to attract every thing to it, as to a centre. If, however, the tempest should prove to be so very violent, that it would make public prudence itself unseasonable, and, therefore, little less than madness for the individual and the public too; perhaps a young man could not do better than to retreat for a while into study,—to leave the field to those whose duty or inclination, or the necessities of their condition, have put them in possession of it, and wait for the settlement of such a commonwealth as an honest man may act in with satisfaction and credit. This he can never do when those who counsel the public, or the prince, are under terror, let the authority under which they are made to speak other than the dictates of their conscience, be never so imposing in its name and attributes.

This moderation is no enemy to zeal and en-

thusiasm. There is room enough for them; for the restraint is no more than the restraint of principle, and the restraint of reason.

I have been led further than I intended; but every day's account shows more and more, in my opinion, the ill-consequence of keeping good principles, and good general views, within no bounds. Pardon the liberty I have taken; though it seems somewhat singular that I, whose opinions have so little weight in my own country, where I have some share in a public trust, should write as if it were possible they should affect one man with regard to affairs in which I have no concern. But, for the present, my time is my own, and to tire your patience is the only injury I can do you.

I am, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

December 11, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have read over, with my son, the printed scheme for a general bank in France, which you sent me. We considered it in all its points of view. Richard thinks rather worse of it than I do, who certainly do not think very favourably of it. If, in our time,

every thing had not turned out in a manner that puts all rational speculation out of countenance, I should not hesitate to declare it a project that never could succeed, either to the nation or to the individuals who should become adventurers on that bottom. What effect it would produce on the national credit, is no concern of your friend, any further than as that credit may affect the fortune of the bank.

The scheme is evidently for the purpose of giving credit and circulation to six hundred millions of a new paper-currency, to be credited for the present exigencies of the republic, which is to bear an interest of one sol in the livre, and to be payable on demand.

There can be no doubt of the use of a paper-currency, or of the want that is found of that medium of circulation in France. The great point is to give it credit, which it has been found hitherto impossible to do, unless a steady opinion prevails, that it is the representative of real cash existing somewhere. This is so far from being the representative of money, that it is the representative of the total and urgent want of it. The French national assembly are labouring under the pressure of a debt, of which they find it very difficult to pay the interest, and, for their relief, they propose to add to that debt a capital of not less (taking together the paper-currency, and the

proposed loan from the bank,) than about thirty millions sterling. To remedy the obvious distemper in the fundamental part of the project, they propose to erect their new republic into a banking-house. They take in a body of stock-holders, whose real capital, after the loan of 180 millions to government, is an unencumbered sum of 120 millions. With this partnership of solid cash, they propose to give credit to the fictitious capital in the government shares of five times that sum, and from the profits of the bank thus formed of this proportion of fiction and reality, they (the government) are to divide one-half with the stock-holders; and from the same profits, by lending to their partner and borrowing from him, by paying an interest and receiving it, they hope that the body of the paper-currency will not load the public in the end with any interest at all; and that their advantage on the result of the whole transaction, with their moiety of the banking profits, will amount to four millions annually. On the face of a bank thus constituted, if it stood upon common banking credit, and were to take its chance for business in competition with others, it is plain that it could have no long advantage. But, in the first place, to make amends for all this fiction, they become their own customers to the amount of the whole revenue of France,—the ordinary receipt;—the patriotic contributions;—

the sale of the lands of the crown and the church, as the sums for which they sell shall come in. To this they add the sums to be deposited to await the determination of courts of justice, and other trust money.

Unquestionably, this vast infusion of cash, never before lodged in any bank in France, must furnish a very great and a very solid fund, for the dealing in discount, and other money transactions, in which this new house is to be engaged. I chiefly rest upon the revenue, because the produce of the confiscations must be slow, gradual, and in sums comparatively small. To this real source of credit they add another, drawn from power. They make the receipt of their paper-currency compulsory. It is to be a legal tender, as well as the notes of the bank, in all payments whatsoever. I consider the operation of this part of the scheme as uncertain; for whether the authority which compels the receipt will be more apt to alarm for the fundamental security, or to quiet the fears of the present holder from the certainty of passing what is upon his hands, depends much on the state of the public mind, and on the power of the new government in enforcing the execution of its own laws. If once it should come to compulsion, I see nothing but the most ruinous consequences to the bank, and to the nation. But if the security, or experience, should appear substantial,

this is not so much to be apprehended. It must, I think, be admitted however, that, at the outset, any appearance of authority with regard to the currency of the notes, has a suspicious aspect. It is supposed in this scheme, that taking the whole of the revenue out of the royal treasury, and vesting it in the nation, will be of great advantage to their affairs, and that the credit of the nation itself is pledged to the bank. As to the first, I conceive it possible that some advantage, though not much, as I apprehend, may arise from another administration of the treasury; and as to the credit of the nation pledged,—of what value that is, time alone can show. The government at present in possession, I mean that of the national assembly, is not long enough established, and of not sufficient consistency, for a foundation of credit; or if it were, its duration, as it is now constituted, is short indeed. For the assembly to be immediately chosen, is of a totally different constitution;—the present is the representative of the states of the kingdom; the next is to be the representative of the people by the head,—the most perfectly democratic power, to all appearance, that ever was established. How far they will think themselves bound by the acts of their predecessors, who proceeded in a different capacity, and under a different authority, must, amongst a people so given to change, be a matter of great uncertainty. In prudence, I think, that this government, which

is only preparatory to another, ought to wait for the opinion of that which is intended for the ultimate form, and the permanent authority in France. With regard to so serious an object as this bank is, to the constitution of the body which is to give life and credit to the principal parts of this project, it appears to me to be liable to the greatest objections. A bank, or rather, a system of sixty banks, scattered over such a country as France;—each subordinate bank with a double cabinet, and all accounting with a general bank, which has itself the same double and possibly discordant direction, is a species of machine which I think will never have any certainty in its movements. The trusts to be created are so numerous, and so hard to be properly inspected, and where there are trusts, the losses from fraud and incapacity, are, of course, so many, that I should tremble for such a banking system, if I had any serious interest in it. An infinite number of reflections, branching from these I have hinted at, as well as others of a more independent nature, occur to me; but they will occur to yourself, and in a better manner. After all, this scheme may answer. It seemed, a while ago, a wilder scheme to turn France into a democracy, than it can now be to turn a democracy into a bank. If I understand, however, the newspapers of to-day, Mr. Neckar's scheme (which, bad as it is, I think better of than this,) is the more likely of the two to be adopted.

Now for one word on our own affairs. The acquittal of Stockdale is likely to make a bad impression on them; coupling it with the verdict in favour of the prosecution, for the libel about Impey, it has the air of a determination of the public voice against us[1]. Remember what I said to you, when you were here, about doing something which may give it a turn, apparently at least, in favour of truth and justice; without this we never can go on. I confess that, at last, I totally despair, and think of nothing but an honourable retreat from this business; which I wish our friends would consider to be essential to our common character, as I am convinced it is.

I am yours truly,

EDM. BURKE.

There are situations in which despair does not imply inactivity.

[1] An information against Mr. Perryman, printer of the Morning Herald, for a libel on the House of Commons, in stating the House to have been influenced by Mr. Pitt to adopt and favor the defence intended to be made by Sir Elijah Impey to charges exhibited in the House of Commons against him, was tried on the 8th December in the Court of King's Bench, and a verdict of guilty returned; and on the 9th, an information was tried against Mr. Stockdale, the bookseller, for publishing a libel on the House of Commons, in reflecting on their conduct in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, when a verdict of not guilty was found.

PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

February 19, 1790.

MY DEAR MR. BURKE,

I am sorry you should have had the trouble of sending for the printed paper you lent me yesterday[2], though I own I cannot much regret even a fault of my own that helps to delay the publication of that paper. I know with certainty that I am the only friend, and many there are, who ventures to contradict or oppose you face to face on subjects of this nature. They either care too little for *you*, or too much for *themselves*, to run the risk of giving you immediate offence, for the sake of any subsequent or remote advantage you might derive from it. But what they withhold from *you*, they communicate very liberally to *me;* because they think, or pretend, that I have some influence over you, which I have not, but which, on the present occasion, I most devoutly wish I had. I am not afraid of exasperating you against me, at any given moment; because I know you will cool again, and place it all to the right account.

[2] This was probably a proof sheet of the "Reflections on the Revolution in France:" the book was not published until October in this year. The delay is accounted for in the introduction to that work.

It is the proper province, and ought to be the privilege of an inferior to criticise and advise. The best possible critic of the Iliad would be, *ipso facto*, and by virtue of that very character, incapable of being the author of it. Standing, as I do, in this relation to you, you would renounce your superiority, if you refused to be advised by me.

Waving all discussion concerning the substance and general tendency of this printed letter, I must declare my opinion, that what I have seen of it is very loosely put together. In point of writing, at least, the manuscript you showed me first, was much less exceptionable. Remember that this is one of the most singular, that it may be the most distinguished, and ought to be one of the most deliberate acts of your life. Your writings have hitherto been the delight and instruction of your own country. You now undertake to correct and instruct another nation; and your appeal, in effect, is to all Europe. Allowing you the liberty to do so in an extreme case, you cannot deny that it ought to be done with special deliberation in the choice of the topics, and with no less care and circumspection in the use you make of them. Have you thoroughly considered whether it be worthy of Mr. Burke,—of a privy-counsellor,—of a man so high and considerable in the House of Commons as you are,—and holding the station you have obtained in the opinion of the

world, to enter into a war of pamphlets with Dr. Price? If he answered you, as assuredly he will, (and so will many others,) can you refuse to reply to a person whom you have attacked? If you do, you are defeated in a battle of your own provoking, and driven to fly from ground of your own choosing. If you do not, where is such a contest to lead you, but into a vile and disgraceful, though it were ever so victorious, an altercation? "*Dii meliora.*" But if you will do it, away with all jest, and sneer, and sarcasm; let every thing you say be grave, direct, and serious. In a case so interesting as the errors of a great nation, and the calamities of great individuals, and feeling them so deeply as you profess to do, all manner of insinuation is improper, all gibe and nick-name prohibited. In my opinion, all that you say of the queen is pure foppery. If she be a perfect female character, you ought to take your ground upon her virtues. If she be the reverse, it is ridiculous in any but a lover, to place her personal charms in opposition to her crimes. Either way, I know the argument must proceed upon a supposition; for neither have you said any thing to establish her moral merits, nor have her accusers formally tried and convicted her of guilt. On this subject, however, you cannot but know, that the opinion of the world is not lately, but has been many years, decided. But in effect, when you assert her claim to protection

and respect, on no other topics than those of gallantry, and beauty, and personal accomplishments, you virtually abandon the proof and assertion of her innocence, which you know is the point substantially in question. Pray, sir, how long have you felt yourself so desperately disposed to admire the ladies of Germany? I despise and abhor, as much as you can do, all personal insult and outrage, even to guilt itself, if I see it, where it ought to be, dejected and helpless; but it is in vain to expect that I, or any reasonable man, shall regret the sufferings of a Messalina, as I should those of a Mrs. Crewe or a Mrs. Burke; I mean all that is beautiful or virtuous amongst women. Is it nothing but outside? Have they no moral minds? Or are you such a determined champion of beauty as to draw your sword in defence of any jade upon earth, provided she be handsome? Look back, I beseech you, and deliberate a little, before you determine that this is an office that perfectly becomes you. If I stop here, it is not for want of a multitude of objections. The mischief you are going to do yourself, is, to my apprehension, palpable. It is visible. It will be audible. I snuff it in the wind. I taste it already. I feel it in every sense; and so will you hereafter; when, I vow to God, (a most elegant phrase,) it will be no sort of consolation for me to reflect that I

did every thing in my power to prevent it. I wish you were at the devil for giving me all this trouble; and so farewell!

P. FRANCIS.

RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ., TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

February 20, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

I send you inclosed a long letter from my father. You must conceive that your letter, combating many old ideas of his, and proposing many new ones, could not fail to set his mind at work, and to make him address the effect of those operations to you. I must, therefore, entreat you not to draw him aside from the many and great labours he has in hand, by any further written communications of this kind, which would, indeed, be very useful, because they are valuable, if they were conveyed at a time when there was leisure to settle opinions. If you find any thing in my father's letters or conversation on this subject, which, being in conformity to your general principles and thoughts, may bring your present impressions a little nearer to those of my father, I shall be glad of it. There is one thing, how-

ever, of which I must inform you, and which I know from an intimate experience of many years. It is, that my father's opinions are never hastily adopted, and that even those ideas which have often appeared to me only the effect of momentary heat, or casual impression, I have afterwards found, beyond a possibility of doubt, to be the result of systematic meditation, perhaps of years; or else, if adopted on the spur of the occasion, yet formed upon the conclusions of long and philosophical experience, and supported by no trifling depth of thought. I do not know whether I express myself so as to be understood. The thing, I say, is a paradox; but when we talk of things superior to ourselves, what is not paradox? When we say that one man is wiser than another, we allow that the wiser man forms his opinions upon grounds and principles which, though to him justly conclusive, cannot be comprehended and received by him who is less wise. To be wise, is only to see deeper, and further, and differently from others. Are you so little conversant with my father, or so enslaved by the cant of those who call themselves his friends, only to insure themselves through him, as to feel no deference for his judgment, or to mistake the warmth of his manner for the heat of his mind? Do I not know my father at this time of day? I tell you, his folly is wiser than the wisdom of the common herd of able men. Reflect

upon all this; and believe me to be, with as much respect as is left me for the opinions of any body but my father, a great admirer of all you have ever said and written.

I am, &c.

RICHARD BURKE.

(ENCLOSURE IN THE FOREGOING.)

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

Gerard-street, February 20, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

I sat up rather late at Carlton-house, and on my return hither, I found your letter on my table. I have not slept since. You will, therefore, excuse me if you find any thing confused, or otherwise expressed than I could wish, in speaking upon a matter which interests you from your regard to me. There are some things in your letter for which I must thank you; there are others which I must answer;—some things bear the mark of friendly admonition; others bear some resemblance to the tone of accusation.

You are the only friend I have who will dare to give me advice; I must, therefore, have something terrible in me, which intimidates all others who know me from giving me the only unequivocal mark of their regard. Whatever this rough

and menacing manner may be, I must search myself upon it; and when I discover it, old as I am, I must endeavour to correct it. I flattered myself, however, that you at least would not have thought my other friends justified in withholding from me their services of this kind. You certainly do not always convey to me your opinions with the greatest tenderness and management; and yet I do not recollect, since I first had the pleasure of your acquaintance, that there has been a heat or a coolness of a single day's duration, on my side, during that whole time. I believe your memory cannot present to you an instance of it. I ill deserve friends, if I throw them away on account of the candour and simplicity of their good nature. In particular you know, that you have in some instances favoured me with your instructions relative to things I was preparing for the public. If I did not in every instance agree with you, I think you had, on the whole, sufficient proofs of my docility, to make you believe that I received your corrections, not only without offence, but with no small degree of gratitude.

Your remarks upon the first two sheets of my Paris letter, relate to the composition and the matter. The composition, you say, is loose, and I am quite sure of it:—I never intended it should be otherwise. For, purporting to be, what in truth it originally was,—a letter to a friend, I had

no idea of digesting it in a systematic order. The style is open to correction, and wants it. My natural style of writing is somewhat careless, and I should be happy in receiving your advice towards making it as little vicious as such a style is capable of being made. The general character and colour of a style, which grows out of the writer's peculiar turn of mind and habit of expressing his thoughts, must be attended to in all corrections. It is not the insertion of a piece of stuff, though of a better kind, which is at all times an improvement.

Your main objections are, however, of a much deeper nature, and go to the political opinions and moral sentiments of the piece; in which I find, though with no sort of surprise, having often talked with you on the subject,—that we differ only in every thing. You say, "the mischief you are going to do yourself, is to my apprehension palpable; I snuff it in the wind, and my taste sickens at it." This anticipated stench, that turns your stomach at such a distance, must be nauseous indeed. You seem to think I shall incur great (and not wholly undeserved) infamy, by this publication. This makes it a matter of some delicacy to me, to suppress what I have written; for I must admit in my own feelings, and in that of those who have seen the piece, that my sentiments and opinions deserve the infamy with which they

are threatened. If they do not, I know nothing more than that I oppose the prejudices and inclinations of many people. This I was well aware of from the beginning; and it was in order to oppose those inclinations and prejudices, that I proposed to publish my letter. I really am perfectly astonished how you could dream, with my paper in your hand, that I found no other cause than the beauty of the queen of France (now, I suppose, pretty much faded) for disapproving the conduct which has been held towards her, and for expressing my own particular feelings. I am not to order the natural sympathies of my own heart, and of every honest breast, to wait until all the jokes of all the anecdotes of the coffee-houses of Paris, and of the dissenting meeting-houses of London, are scoured of all the slander of those who calumniate persons, that, afterwards, they may murder them with impunity. I know nothing of your story of Messalina. Am I obliged to prove juridically the virtues of all those I shall see suffering every kind of wrong, and contumely, and risk of life, before I endeavour to interest others in their sufferings,—and before I endeavour to excite horror against midnight assassins at back-stairs, and their more wicked abettors in pulpits? What! —Are not high rank, great splendour of descent, great personal elegance and outward accomplishments, ingredients of moment in forming the in-

terest we take in the misfortunes of men? The minds of those who do not feel thus, are not even systematically right. "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba, that he should weep for her?"—Why,—because she was Hecuba, the queen of Troy,—the wife of Priam,—and suffered, in the close of life, a thousand calamities! I felt too for Hecuba, when I read the fine tragedy of Euripides upon her story; and I never inquired into the anecdotes of the court or city of Troy, before I gave way to the sentiments which the author wished to inspire;—nor do I remember that he ever said one word of her virtue. It is for those who applaud or palliate assassination, regicide, and base insult to women of illustrious place, to prove the crimes (in[2] sufferings) which they allege, to justify their own. But if they have proved fornication on any such woman,—taking the manners of the world, and the manners of France,—I shall never put it in a parallel with assassination!—No: I have no such inverted scale of faults, in my heart or my head.

You find it perfectly ridiculous, and unfit for me in particular, to take these things as my ingredients of commiseration. Pray why is it absurd in me to think, that the chivalrous spirit which dictated a veneration for women of condition and

[2] The MS. of this letter is not the original, and probably there has been some error in copying these words.

of beauty, without any consideration whatever of enjoying them, was the great source of those manners which have been the pride and ornament of Europe for so many ages? And am I not to lament that I have lived to see those manners extinguished in so shocking a manner, by means of speculations of finance, and the false science of a sordid and degenerate philosophy? I tell you again,—that the recollection of the manner in which I saw the queen of France, in the year 1774, and the contrast between that brilliancy, splendour, and beauty, with the prostrate homage of a nation to her,—and the abominable scene of 1789, which I was describing,—*did* draw tears from me and wetted my paper. These tears came again into my eyes, almost as often as I looked at the description;—they may again. You do not believe this fact, nor that these are my real feelings; but that the whole is affected, or, as you express it, downright foppery. My friend,—I tell you it is truth; and that it is true, and will be truth, when you and I are no more; and will exist as long as men with their natural feelings shall exist. I shall say no more on this foppery of mine. Oh! by the way, you ask me how long I have been an admirer of German ladies? Always the same. Present me the idea of such massacres about any German lady here, and such attempts to assassinate her, and such a triumphant proces-

sion from Windsor to the Old Jewry, and I assure you, I shall be quite as full of natural concern and just indignation.

As to the other points, they deserve serious consideration, and they shall have it. I certainly cannot profit quite so much by your assistance, as if we agreed. In that case, every correction would be forwarding the design. We should work with one common view. But it is impossible that any man can correct a work according to its true spirit, who is opposed to its object, or can help the expression of what he thinks should not be expressed at all.

I should agree with you about the vileness of the controversy with such miscreants as the "Revolution Society," and the "National Assembly;" and I know very well that they, as well as their allies, the Indian delinquents, will darken the air with their arrows. But I do not yet think they have the advowson of reputation. I shall try that point. My dear sir, you think of nothing but controversies; "I challenge into the field of battle, and retire defeated, &c." If their having the last word be a defeat, they most assuredly will defeat me. But I intend no controversy with Dr. Price, or Lord Shelburne, or any other of their set. I mean to set in full view the danger from their wicked principles and their black hearts. I intend to state the true principles of our constitution in

church and state, upon grounds opposite to theirs. If any one be the better for the example made of them, and for this exposition, well and good. I mean to do my best to expose them to the hatred, ridicule, and contempt of the whole world; as I always shall expose such calumniators, hypocrites, sowers of sedition, and approvers of murder and all its triumphs. When I have done that, they may have the field to themselves; and I care very little how they triumph over me, since I hope they will not be able to draw me at their heels, and carry my head in triumph on their poles.

I have been interrupted, and have said enough. Adieu! believe me always sensible of your friendship; though it is impossible that a greater difference can exist on earth, than, unfortunately for me, there is on those subjects, between your sentiments and mine.

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO CAPTAIN MERCER[3].

London, February 26, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

The speedy answer I return to your letter, I hope will convince you of the high value I set upon the

[3] Prior gives this letter, and that of Captain Mercer, to which it is a reply, in his Life of Burke, vol. ii. p. 79. He

regard you are so good to express for me, and the obliging trouble which you take to inform my judgment upon matters in which we are all very deeply concerned. I think perfectly well of your heart and your principles, and of the strength of your natural understanding, which, according to your opportunities, you have not been wanting in pains to improve. If you are mistaken, it is perhaps owing to the impression almost inevitably made, by the various careless conversations which we are engaged in through life; conversations in which those who propagate their doctrines have not been called upon for much reflection concerning their end and tendency; and when those who imperceptibly imbibe them are not required, by a particular duty, very closely to examine them, or to act from the impressions they received. I am obliged to *act*, and am, therefore, bound to call my principles and sentiments to a strict account. As far as my share of a public trust goes, I am in trust religiously to maintain the rights and properties of all descriptions of people in the possessions which they legally hold, and in the rule by which alone they can be secure in any possession. I do not find myself at liberty, either as a man or as a trustee for men, to take a vested property

states Captain Mercer to have been an Irish gentleman settled near Newry, who had made a large fortune in India.

from one man and give it to another, because *I* think that the portion of one is too great, and that of another too small. From my first juvenile rudiments of speculative study, to the grey hairs of my present experience, I have never learned any thing else. I can never be taught any thing else by *reason;* and when *force* comes, I shall consider whether I am to submit to it, or how I am to resist it. This I am very sure of, that an early guard against the manifest tendency of a contrary doctrine, is the only way by which those who love order can be prepared to resist such force.

The calling men by the names of "pampered and luxurious prelates" is, in you, no more than a mark of your dislike to intemperance and idle expense. But in others it is used for other purposes; it is often used to extinguish the sense of justice in our minds, and the natural feelings of humanity in our bosoms. In them, such abusive language is used to mitigate the cruel effects of reducing men of opulent condition, and their innumerable dependents, to the last distress. If I were to adopt the plan of a spoliatory reformation, I should probably employ it; but it would aggravate, instead of extenuating guilt, in overturning the sacred principles of property.

Sir, I say that church and state, and human society too, (for which church and state are made,) are subverted by such doctrines, joined to such

practices, as leave no foundation for property in long possessions. My dear Captain Mercer, it is not my calling the use you make of your plate, in your house either of dwelling or of prayer, "pageantry and hypocrisy," that can justify me in taking from you your property, and your liberty to use your own property according to your own ideas of ornament. When you find me attempting to break into your house to take your plate under any pretence whatsoever,—but most of all, under pretence of purity of religion and Christian charity, —shoot me for a robber and an hypocrite, as in that case I shall certainly be. The true Christian religion never taught me any such practices; nor did the religion of my nature, nor any religion, nor any law.

Let those who have never abstained from a full meal, and as much wine as they could swallow, for a single day of their whole lives, satirize "luxurious and pampered prelates" if they will. Let them abuse such prelates, and such lords, and such "squires," provided it be only to correct their vices. I care not much about the language of this moral satire, if they go no further than satire. But there are occasions when the language of Falstaff, reproaching the Londoners whom he robbed in their way to Canterbury, with their gorbellies and city-luxury, is not so becoming. It is not calling the landed estates, possessed by old

prescriptive rights, "the accumulations of ignorance and superstition," that can support me in shaking that grand title which supersedes every other title, and which all my studies of general jurisprudence have taught me to consider as one principal cause of the formation of states;—I mean the ascertaining and securing of *prescription.* "But these are donations made in ages of ignorance and superstition." Be it so;—it proves that they were made long ago; and this is prescription, and this gives right and title. It is possible that many estates about you were obtained by arms; a thing almost as bad as superstition, and not much short of ignorance;—but it is old violence; and that which might be wrong in the beginning, is consecrated by time and becomes lawful. This may be superstition in me, and ignorance; but I had rather remain in ignorance and superstition, than be enlightened and purified out of the first principles of law and natural justice.

I never will suffer you, if I can help it, to be deprived of the well-earned fruits of your industry, because others may want your fortune more than you do, and may have laboured, and do now labour, in vain to acquire even a subsistence. Neither, on the contrary, if success had less smiled upon your endeavours, and you had come home insolvent, would I take from any "pampered and luxurious lord" in your neighbourhood, one acre

of his land, or one spoon from his sideboard, to compensate your losses; though incurred, as they would have been incurred, in the course of a well-spent, virtuous, and industrious life. God is the distributor of his own blessings. I will not impiously attempt to usurp his throne, but will keep, according to the subordinate place and trust in which he has stationed me, the order of property which I find established in my country. No guiltless man has ever been, nor, I trust, ever will be, able to say with truth, that he has been obliged to retrench a dish at his table, for any reformations of mine.

You pay me the compliment to suppose me a foe to tyranny and oppression; and you are, therefore, surprised at the sentiments I have lately delivered in parliament. I *am* that determined foe to tyranny, or I greatly deceive myself in my character, and am an idiot in my conduct. It is because I am such a foe, and mean to continue so, that I abominate the example of France for this country. I know that tyranny seldom attacks the poor,—never in the first instance. They are not its proper prey. It falls upon the wealthy and the great, whom, by rendering them objects of envy, and otherwise obnoxious to the multitude, they the more easily destroy; and when they are destroyed, that multitude which was led to that ill work by the arts of bad men, is itself undone

for ever. I hate tyranny, at least I think so; but I hate it most of all where most are concerned in it. The tyranny of a multitude is but a multiplied tyranny. If, as society is constituted in these large countries of France and England,—full of unequal property, I must make my choice (which God avert) between the despotism of a single person, or of the many, my election is made:—For, in the forty years of my observation, as much injustice and tyranny has been practised in a few months by a French democracy, as by all the arbitrary monarchs in Europe. I speak of public, glaring acts of tyranny. I say nothing of the common effects of old abusive governments, because I do not know that as bad may not be found from the new. This democracy begins very ill; and I feel no security that what has been rapacious and bloody in its commencement, in its final settlement will be mild and protecting. They cannot, indeed, in future rob so much, because they have left little that can be taken. I go to the full length of my principle. I should think the government of the deposed King of France, or of the late King of Prussia, or the present Emperor, or the present Czarina, none of them, perhaps, perfectly good,—to be far better than the government of twenty-four millions of men *all as good as you*, (and I do not know any body better)—supposing that those twenty-four

millions would be subject, as infallibly they would, to the same unrestrained, though virtuous impulses; because, it is plain, you would think every thing justified by your warm good intentions; you would heat one another by your common zeal; counsel and advice would be lost on you; you would not listen to temperate individuals; and you would be infinitely less capable of moderation than the most heady of those princes.

What have I to do with France, but as the common interest of humanity, and its example to this country engages me? I know France, by observation and inquiry, pretty tolerably for a stranger; and I am not a man to fall in love with the faults or follies of the old or new government. You reason as if I were running a parallel between its former abusive government and the present tyranny. What had all this to do with the opinions I delivered in parliament, which run a parallel between the liberty they might have had, and this frantic delusion? This is the way by which you blind and deceive yourself, and beat the air in your argument with me. Why do you instruct me on a state of case which has no existence? You know how to reason very well. What most of the newspapers make me say, I know not, nor do I much care. I don't, however, think they have thus stated me. There is a very fair abstract of my speech printed in a little

pamphlet, which I would send you if it were worth putting you to the expense.

To discuss the affairs of France and its revolution, would require a volume,—perhaps many volumes. Your general reflections about revolutions may be right or wrong; they conclude nothing. I don't find myself disposed to controvert them, for I do not think they apply to the present affairs; nay, I am sure they do not. I conceive you have got very imperfect accounts of these transactions. I believe I am much more exactly informed concerning them.

I am sorry, indeed, to find that our opinions do differ essentially,—fundamentally, and are at the utmost possible distance from each other, if I understand you or myself clearly on this subject. Your freedom is far from displeasing to me,—I love it; for I always wish to know the full of what is in the mind of the friend I converse with. I give you mine as freely, and I hope I shall offend you as little as you do me.

I shall have no objection to your showing my letter to as many as you please. I have no secrets with regard to the public. I have never shrunk from obloquy, and I have never courted popular applause. If I have ever met with any share of it—*non rapui sed recepi.* No difference of opinion, however, shall hinder me from cultivating your friendship, whilst you permit me to do so. I have

not wrote this to discuss these matters in a prolonged controversy. I wish we may never say more of them; but to comply with your commands, which ever shall have due weight with me.

I am,
Most respectfully and affectionately yours,
EDM. BURKE.

REV. DR. HUSSEY [4] TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

York-street, St. James's-square,
August 13, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I request your permission to communicate, through this channel, the inclosed papers to your son. I called yesterday at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn,

[4] Dr. Hussey died the 11th July, 1803. The Catholic Directory gives no account of his life or of his literary productions, if he were the author of any. The "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1803, contains a brief notice of Dr. Hussey, and mentions his having written a Pastoral Letter to the people of Waterford in 1797, which created a great deal of excitement.

The most interesting account of Dr. Hussey is in Charles Butler's "Memoirs of the English Catholics," vol. ii. chap. 32. He was attached for several years to the Spanish embassy in

and was informed that he is in the country; and am therefore obliged to trespass upon your kindness to me, as I know that you humanely interest yourself for the oppressed state of the Roman Catholics of that country. Perhaps you may endeavour to get a leisure hour to peruse these papers, as they will give you an idea of their present hopes. The Baron of Galtrim [5], whose letter to me I inclose, says that the committee of the Irish Catholics do not presume to restrict your son

London, and was employed by the government in an important diplomatic mission to Spain, in which, though unsuccessful in the object of his negotiation, he acquitted himself entirely to the satisfaction of the ministers and the king. Not long after, he was made the first president of Maynooth College, for the establishment of which he had taken an active interest. In or about 1797, he was promoted to the Catholic see of Waterford, and published the address to the people of Waterford, on which occasion Mr. Burke wrote him two letters, expressing his approbation of this Pastoral. From this time to the time of his death, he was one of the leading men among the English and Irish Catholics.

Butler speaks of him in the highest terms, as a man of genius, learning, piety, and refined manners,—as a true patriot and a finished gentleman. He was an Irishman by birth, supposed to have been born about the year 1745, and to have been of the old family of the Husseys of the County Meath, whose genealogy is in Archdall's Lodge's Irish Peerage, vol. vii., under the article "Aylmer."

The Pastoral Letter, and Burke's letters upon it, are in the Appendix to Plowden's Historical Review, vol. iii.

[5] He was a branch of the Hussey family.

to the plan which they lay down; but hope that he will not only alter, but reject the whole, as he may think necessary, and form another to his own ideas. They apply to him as a professional gentleman, and as such have remitted to me fifty guineas, as a small consideration for his trouble; and I inclose it in a draft upon my banker, and of which I request his acceptance in their name. I have the honour to remain, with the most unfeigned respect and sincere attachment,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS HUSSEY.

(ENCLOSURE IN THE FOREGOING.)

T. HUSSEY, ESQ., TO THE REV. DR. HUSSEY.

Dominick-street, August 6, 1790.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland being dissolved a few months since, the time for which they were elected having expired, every parish in Dublin and most of the towns in the country, at the meetings convened to choose new representatives, and to which meetings none but respectable housekeepers were summoned,

entered into resolutions expressive of their loyalty, and attachment to the person and government of his majesty, and submission to the laws; principles and conduct from which they were determined never to swerve. At the same time, they instructed their representatives in the committee, to take the earliest opportunity to beseech his majesty and the legislature, to restore them to some of those rights, which other dissenters from the established religion are so wisely and safely permitted to enjoy; and at the same time to lay before their fellow-subjects the impolicy of the severe restrictions under which they labour. This was the tenor of their several resolutions, though expressed in different words. It may be with pleasure remarked that these meetings were conducted with the utmost decency and propriety, and with that unanimity that proved that all were actuated by the same sentiments, and that it is the universal wish of the Catholics of Ireland to apply for relief. A few gentlemen have met together, who see the necessity of being prepared to lay before the general Catholic committee at their first meeting (some time previous to the meeting of parliament), what will, in consequence of their instructions, be the subject of their deliberation:—An appeal to the nation, in order to prepare the public mind in our favour; (this will be published and distributed;) a petition to parliament, provided at their meeting we find

the times encouraging such application; and it is expected they will be favourable to it. Fully sensible of the importance of a subject involving the best interests of three millions of people, and that this appeal will draw the attention of the ablest men in this country, of England, and of the continent, the gentlemen concerned lament their inability to do justice to the suject. In this dilemma they have turned their eyes to Mr. Richard Burke, junior, as a professional man, and from him they hope for something worthy of the subject. Through you, we wish to submit to him, the form, the matter, and the manner. Something was attempted here; but even the writer of it saw and felt how deficient it was. However, it goes enclosed with all its defects, not wishing it should make any part of the plan to be pursued, but solely if it can furnish any hint that may lessen Mr. Burke's trouble. The gentlemen concerned hope that the urgency of the case will plead their excuse, when they suggest a wish that it may come forward with as much expedition as the nature of the business will admit. They know your zeal, and on it found their dependence that you will prevail on Mr. Burke to undertake this business. The obligations we owe his family are strongly impressed on us all; and we wish to be indebted to the ability of a branch of it, for laying the foundation of our emancipation, and to per-

petuate to the son the gratitude we are so sensible we owe to the father.

Adieu, my dear friend,

Your ever affectionate kinsman,

T. HUSSEY.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MONS. DUPONT.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just now received your kind letter of yesterday. I send my answer by my son, who is going to town, and will have the happiness of seeing you and thanking you, in all our names, for your goodness towards us.

You wish me to reconsider the words I have used concerning Henry the Fourth of France, in page 208 of my letter, "never abandoning for a moment any of the claims which he made under the fundamental laws, nor sparing to shed the blood of those who opposed him, often in the field, sometimes on the scaffold." The austerity of this description you wish a little softened. I am not surprised at your request. From your infancy you have seen nothing brought forward in the portrait of that prince, but his mildness and be-

nignity. His character of vigilance and vigour, which he displayed at least equally, and without which he had ill-deserved the name of Great, is thrown entirely into the shade, and in a manner disappears. The policy of this proceeding is evident enough. The name of Henry the Fourth was deservedly popular. The kings of France were proud of their descent from that hero. It was upon his example they were to form themselves. The conspirators against them, and against all law, religion, and order, endeavoured, under the sanction of that venerated name, to persuade their king to abandon all the precautions of power against the designs of ambition; and having thus persuaded him to disarm himself, they were resolved to deliver him, as well as his nobility, his clergy, and his magistrates, the natural supports of his throne, into the hands of robbers and assassins. The general plot was laid long ago. It was to be pursued according to circumstances; and this method of hanging out the picture of Henry the Fourth in profile, was one of the instruments in that truly traitorous design, of laying traps for men, and baiting them with their virtues.

Whenever that politic prince made any of his flattering speeches, as he often did, he took care that they should not be construed too literally. It was, I think, at some sort of assembly of notables, that he talked of resigning himself entirely into

their hands; but when he served them with this, and the rest of his *blanc-mange*, of which he was sufficiently liberal, he attended at the table, as he expressed himself, with his hand upon his sword. Men whose power is envied, and against whose very being desperate factions exist, cannot be safely good upon any other terms. Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, every man in that situation who could dare to be virtuous, enjoyed that arduous and critical prerogative, by religiously securing the means of supporting the consideration and authority, by which alone he was able to display his beneficence. In that position a prince may, with great security, and often with as great wisdom as glory, divide his authority with his people; because he has an authority to divide at his discretion, and not merely to surrender. Otherwise, in an arrangement and distribution of power, he will not be able to reserve any thing; and he can have no merit in his concessions. But whatever the honour of such a voluntary partition may be, or whatever the policy of making it a sacrifice to circumstances, Henry the Fourth did neither the one nor the other. He never made any partition whatsoever of his power. What I have said of him is strictly true. Did he abandon, to any judgment of the people of Paris, his claim, by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, to be their master and their sovereign lord? Did he ever come to any compromise with them, relative

to his title? Which, in the long catalogue of the unbounded prerogatives exercised by the kings of France, justly or unjustly claimed, did he surrender, or abridge, or even submit to define? He would have been still more glorious, if, after his conquest and his purchase of his kingdom, he had done this, and made himself the founder of a regular constitution. But whether he was in a condition to entitle himself to this true glory, or whether he could have taken any steps towards it at that time, with more safety than has been attempted lately, is what, upon the face of historical facts, I am not able to determine to my own satisfaction. But it is most probable that he never thought of any such thing; and if you read the memoirs of Sully attentively, and will suppose that the sentiments of the minister were not greatly at variance with those of his master, you will soon observe how much they were both of them royalists, in a very large sense of the word; and how little partial to any other mode of government.

As to his shedding blood;—not one drop, to be sure, beyond what was necessary for the support of that title which he never would submit to any sort of popular decision; but every drop which that necessity demanded, he did shed. How many bloody battles did he fight against the far greater majority of the people of France? How many towns did he sack and plunder? Was

his minister and favourite ashamed to take the share of pillage that had fallen into his hands? It is true that he winked at the relief which a set of poor famished wretches gave to themselves, by gathering, at the hazard of their lives, a few ears of corn beneath the walls of his capital, whilst he held it under a strict blockade. I approve of this, but I look upon it with no enthusiastic admiration. He had been almost a monster in cruelty, as well as a driveller in policy, if he had done otherwise than he did.

But if he was thus indulgent to a few dozens of starving people, it cannot be forgotten that it was he who starved them by hundreds of thousands, before he could be in a condition to bestow this scanty mercy to a few of the miserable individuals. He certainly, in starving Paris, availed himself of the law of war, fairly, but he availed himself of that law to the full. The act of mercy was his temper and his policy; the famine he caused was his necessity. But can you bear the panegyrics of Henry the Fourth, relative to the siege of Paris, when you consider the late scarcity, and all the transactions in consequence of it? But on this I say nothing more; though I think it must fill every honest heart with indignation and horror.

As to the "scaffold;"—whether Henry the Fourth could have saved the Mareschal Biron

with prudence, instead of beheading, in the Bastile, a man to whom and to whose father he owed pretty serious obligations, it is impossible at this day to settle. That prince was less distinguished for gratitude than clemency, but he never did shed blood without great cause. I suppose he acted as was best for his people and his throne. But we must agree, that if he had saved that rash, impetuous man, he could not be much censured for such an act of mercy. However, if he thought that M. de Biron was capable of bringing on such scenes as we have lately beheld, and of producing the same anarchy, confusion, and distress in his kingdom, as preliminary to the establishment of that humiliating as well as vexatious tyranny, we now see on the point of being settled, under the name of a constitution, in France, he did well,—very well,—to cut him off in the crude and immature infancy of his treasons. He would not have deserved the crown which he wore, and wore with so much glory, if he had scrupled, by all the preventive mercy of rigorous law, to punish those traitors and enemies of their country and of mankind. For, believe me, there is no virtue where there is no wisdom. A great, enlarged, protecting, and preserving benevolence has it, not in its accidents and circumstances, but in its very essence, to exterminate vice, and disorder, and oppression from the world. Goodness

spares infirmity. Nothing but weakness is tender of the crimes that connect themselves with power, in the destruction of the religion, laws, polity, morals, industry, liberty, and prosperity of your country. Henry the Fourth, if he had had such men as his subjects, would have done his duty, I doubt not. The present king is in the place of the victim, not of the avenger, of these crimes. That he did not prevent them with the early vigour, activity, and foresight of an Henry the Fourth, is rather his misfortune than his offence. He has, I hear and believe, a good natural understanding, as well as a mild and benevolent heart, and these are the rudiments of virtue. But he was born in purple, and of course was not made to a situation which would have tried a virtue most fully perfected. By what steps, by what men, by what means, on what pretexts, through what projects, by what series of mistakes, and miscalculations of all kinds, he has been brought to the state in which he is obliged to appear as a sort of instrument in the ruin of his country, is a subject for history.

This is what I have been led to trouble you with, in consequence of your letter. My son, whom I intended as the bearer of this, was obliged to go off immediately after breakfast; so I send this by the post. You may print it, as an appendix to your translation, or in any way you

please; or keep it only for your private satisfaction, as you like.

Most truly, my dear sir,
Your obliged and obedient humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Newmarket, November 3, 1790.

I RETURNED on Saturday last from Brighthelmstone to Sheene, with health completely restored, and spirits perfectly revived. Now you see I date from Newmarket, so I need not tell you that I am as full of life as ever, and many years younger than I was three months ago. On Saturday night I received your most kind letter. On Sunday morning I set off for this place with an intention to call at Dodsley's, and, if possible, in spite of the forms of the day, to get possession of your book. I had waited for it with great impatience. Luckily, stepping first into St. James's-square, I found it on my table.

My dear Mr. Burke,—when I took, what is vulgarly called, the liberty of opposing my thoughts and wishes to the *publication* of yours, on the late transactions in France, I do assure you that I was

not moved so much by a difference of opinion on the subject matter of the publication, as by an apprehension of the personal uneasiness and vexation which, one way or other, I thought you would suffer by it. The labours you had in hand seemed to excuse you sufficiently from undertaking a new one; and I confess I was very unwilling to see them disturbed or interrupted, by an altercation with men who were utterly unworthy of levelling themselves with you, in a contest of any kind. As to the resentment of such men, I know very well that it ought to be disregarded whenever it ought to be encountered. I know that virtue would be useless, if it were not active, and that it can rarely be active without exciting the most malignant of all enmity,—that in which envy predominates, and which, having no injury to complain of, has no ostensible motive either to resent or to forgive. That sort of hatred is always implacable, but not always impotent. On the question, whether the occasion demanded, and the parties deserved, so much of your notice as you have given them, you had a right to decide, as you have done, for yourself. On that point, you may be perfectly sure that I shall never say another word; unless it be to support and defend you to the utmost of my power. That is my office now. While I thought the measure was in suspense, I had another duty to perform; and I

gave you my thoughts, not prudently and cautiously as I might have done, but frankly and cordially as I ought to do. Away with all that sort of reason which banishes the affections! You see that I have not neglected my studies, and that I have profited by them already. Once for all, I wish you would let me teach you to write English. To me, who am to read every thing you write, it would be a great comfort, and to you, no sort of disparagement. Why will you not allow yourself to be persuaded that polish is material to preservation?

It has not yet been in my power to read more than one third of your book. I must taste it deliberately. The flavour is too high; the wine is too rich; I cannot take a draught of it. All that you say of the revolution in England is excellent in its substance, and in its illustration incomparable. I wait to see how you apply that example, with strict justice, to the reproach of the proceedings in France. For my own part, I am not sufficiently versed in the history of that country to be able to point out a period in which the French possessed an effective constitution; or even such an acknowledged system of tolerable government, as it would have at all availed them to recur to in their late situation. When, by accident, they were governed with every degree of temper and lenity, it was owing to the personal

character of the prince on the throne,—such as Charles the Fifth, and Henry the Fourth, and in no degree whatever to what we call a constitution. Their states-general, as far as I know, never did the nation any good; certainly no permanent good; such as belongs to our idea of the operation of a system, not to that of an instant transitory act of power. When I speak of a nation, I mean the millions who asked for nothing but protection against intolerable oppression, both by the king and their nobility; who, before they complained or resisted, had endured every thing that could be endured. Against these millions, the king and the nobles, and the church too, I fear, had a common interest; and though they did not always make common cause, the result of their divisions among themselves was always a compromise at the expense of the nation. They never, as far as I know, made terms for the people. I speak with certainty when I say, that, since the accession of Louis the Eleventh, (a period long enough to obliterate all traces of a constitution if there had been one before,) there has been no power in France but that of a despot; bad enough while it was exercised by a single vigorous hand, but infinitely worse when it fell into weakness or minority, or when it was counteracted by the factions of the nobility. Take other remote periods if you will, and I believe you will find

that the situation of the people, at least for five hundred years back, was more and more miserable; not because their form of government has at all improved since those times, but because the rigours of barbarous, senseless tyranny have been insensibly softened by a general improvement in the manners of European nations. We do not pillage and massacre quite so furiously as our ancestors used to do. Why? because these nations are more enlightened; because the Christian religion is, *de facto*, not in force in the world. Suspect me not of meaning the Christian religion of the Gospel. I mean that which was enforced, rather than taught, by priests, by bishops, and by cardinals, which laid waste a province, and then formed a monastery; which, after destroying a great portion of the human species, provided, as far as it could, for the utter extinction of future population, by instituting numberless retreats for celibacy; which set up an ideal being called the Church, capable of possessing property of all sorts for the pious use of its ministers, incapable of alienating, and whose property its usufructuaries very wisely said it should be sacrilege to invade; that religion, in short, which was practised or professed, and with great zeal too, by tyrants and villains of every denomination. From the plain, unlaboured narrative of history, I can produce you pictures of the constant miseries of the people of

France, that would surpass every thing that you, with all the efforts of your eloquence, have painted of the sufferings, great, I own, and much to be regretted, of a few individuals in a single day. But it seems they had their *Etats généraux* to appeal to. A French historian, now open before me, and who writes with great guard and moderation, says, "une assemblée des Etats généraux, tenue en 1412, mérita le reproche qu'on a fait quelquefois à ces grandes assemblées, de voir et d'exposer tous nos maux *sans* en soulager un." This, I believe to have been constantly the case. The people derived very little, if any, protection from the states-general; certainly not within any period in which the history of modern nations is distinctly written, and may be safely relied on. If this state of the case be generally true, it follows that the French of this day could not act as we did in 1688. They had no constitution as we had to recur to. They had no foundation to build upon. They had no walls to repair. Much less had they *the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished.* A proposition so extraordinary as this last, so likely to fill the minds of common readers with doubt and surprise, ought to have been made out *in limine*, since the most important deductions are drawn from it. If it be not true, or if it be left to stand upon an assertion, for which no argument or evidence is produced,

all that part of your "Reflections" which impeaches the French Assembly for taking new ground to act on, is a *petitio principii*, and will be, in effect, a justification of the revolution you condemn, if the French can show that your premises are not founded in fact. If they had no model in their own country, they must, of necessity, begin anew. They could not, in this respect, be guided by the example of England, because in our own case there was a constitution to resort to; in theirs, there was none. Allowance should be made for men whose duty it is to act in such a situation. They may commit many errors; but neither will I charge them with the fury of the populace, nor with the crimes of individuals. Many things have been done which greatly deserve to be lamented; and the more, because they weaken and disgrace a cause essentially just and honourable. The loss of a single life in a popular tumult, excites individual tenderness and pity. No tears are shed for nations. When the provinces are scourged to the bone by a mercenary and merciless military power, and every drop of its blood and substance extorted from it by the edicts of a royal council, the case seems very tolerable to those who are not involved in it. When thousands after thousands are dragooned out of their country for the sake of their religion, or sent to row in the galleys for selling salt against

law,—when the liberty of every individual is at the mercy of every prostitute, pimp, or parasite, that has access to the hand of power, or to any of its basest substitutes,—my mind, I own, is not at once prepared to be satisfied with gentle palliatives for such disorders. Why? Because, as you say, it is not *natural* that it should. But, it seems, the present king of France is of a mild, inoffensive character, and not to be charged with a personal disposition to tyranny. Be it so. Then this is the time to cure the disease which belongs to the system, not to the man, and to take securities for the future. Would you advise the French to wait for the return of a more vigorous power, of some more resolute prince, against whose firmness and abilities they would have no chance of success? Or is it only in the cause of public freedom, of multitudes groaning under oppression, that you would take no advantages of time and opportunity? I do not understand the sense of such generosity in any contest between right and wrong; but, in this, I am sure of the danger of it. You will not believe it possible, that it can be my wish or intention to justify any atrocious acts of violence committed by the populace. I do not even undertake to defend the most deliberate acts of the assembly. With all manner of reason and justice in the assumption of their power, they may possibly have exhibited a

total want of wisdom in the exercise of it. These questions are perfectly distinct. In some places you talk of the national assembly, as if they were the direct authors of every thing done by the mob of Paris; in others, you describe them as the passive instruments of that mob, and acting under the immediate terrors of personal danger. But you dread and detest commotion of every kind. And so should I—and who would not?—if a healthy repose could be obtained without a tempest or stagnation. But tell me,—has not God Himself commanded, or permitted, the storm to purify the elements?

St. James's-square, November 4.

All that you have read, and I hope with patience, was written at Newmarket, where I sat enveloped with smoke, and surrounded with every noise and clamour that could be invented to confound and stupify human reason. I left it some days sooner than I intended, because I found it impossible to read you with the attention you deserve. I shall now proceed, and finish without a pause. You shall see me again at Philippi. *Vive et vale.*

P. FRANCIS.

LORD JOHN CAVENDISH TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

[6] Billing, November 14, 1790.

DEAR BURKE,

I cannot help troubling you with my best thanks, not only on the entertainment I have received from your book, but for the real service which I think it will do. All men of sense must, I think, feel obliged to you, for showing, in so forcible a manner, that confusion is not the road to reformation. Though some of our allies have now and then run wild, our original set have always contended for that temperate resistance to the abuse of power, as should not endanger the public peace, or put all good order into hazard. There is a scrap of Tacitus which has run in my head many years as our motto,—*inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter*[7]. But I am sorry to learn that rational conduct neither meets with success or credit. There are a few points (and but a few) in which you go rather too far for me; and a few expressions which I wish had been softened; but I think the whole cannot fail to be really of public benefit, and to do you infinite honour. I see but very few people, but all that

[6] The residence of Lord John Cavendish, near Northampton.

[7] Ann. 4. 20.

I have seen approve highly; but your most rapturous admirer is one who has not always been so civil to us,—Mr. Powys[8]. I am not sure if both the societies are not more properly objects of contempt than any other passion. Do you recollect Cæsar's speech, in Lucan[9], to the tribune that would have prevented his seizing the public treasure?

I am, dear Burke,
Your most faithful and obedient servant,
J. CAVENDISH.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

Beconsfield, November 19, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for your kind resolution to defend my late publication against your better judgment. I confess I should be more pleased to owe this service to your approbation of my sentiments, than to your partiality to their

[8] Then M.P. for Northamptonshire, afterwards created Lord Lilford, grandfather of the present peer.

[9] . . . . . Vanam spem mortis honestæ
Concipis: haud (inquit) jugulo se polluet isto
Nostra, Metelle, manus. Dignum te Cæsaris irâ
Nullus honor faciet. Te vindice tuta relicta est
Libertas? non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint a Cæsare tolli.

LUCAN, book III. l. 134.

author. However, though your concurrence with me would do more honour to my cause, your friendship is more flattering to my person. In that I receive a full compensation for our difference upon the points in question, which I am sorry to see by your paper is as wide as possible.

I perused the sheets you sent me from Newmarket with attention. This does not give a great deal of trouble when one reads any thing written by you. Your remarks are, indeed, made with great skill and ability; but they hardly seem to be penned for my private and particular instruction. They affect the body and substance of the design of a piece already public, and on which the general judgment must be conclusively and irrevocably past. Your paper has much more the character of a piece in an adverse controversy, carried on before the tribunal of the nation at large, than of the animadversion of a friend on his friend's performance. In it are many arguments *ad hominem;* some, *ad verecundiam;* some, *ad invidiam creandam;* not a few, *ad captandum.* I suppose, in sending this paper to me, you meant it as a protest against the defence, which your friendship might compel you to make, of opinions, which, privately, you could not countenance.

When and where, my dear sir, did you find me the advocate of any tyranny, either ancient or modern, either at home or abroad? When did you find me totally unmoved at the distress of

hundreds and thousands of my equals, and only touched with the sufferings of guilty greatness? I find this distinction neither in my sympathies nor in my morals; and, under favour, in addressing yourself to me, you might have spared that observation. It is very true, that I am much more affected, and I shall make no apology for being so, with any instance of cruelty, and injustice, and tyranny that happens in my own time, and falls within my own observation, than with any thing I read in history, though I hope I am not wholly without feeling in that respect also. I have heard that Mr. Hastings' advocates have endeavoured to palliate the rigour of his government, by an attempt to prove that the Moorish dominion was productive of many more, and worse, instances of inhumanity and perfidy, than the English. I never could prevail on myself to enter with him into this parallel of crimes. I did not think it any apology for his government, that some of the preceding might have been more wicked. I feel myself much more disposed to feelings of resentment and indignation against the tyranny of Mr. Hastings and Mons. Barnave, than against that of Aurungzebe and Louis the Fourteenth. All that you have said against the despotism of monarchies, you must be sensible that I have heard a thousand times before, though certainly not so neatly and sharply expressed. I conceive that it can relate nothing to my opinions,

until you find that I have somewhere admitted, or been forced to allow, that the present system of France, which is held out for our admiration, is better calculated for the happiness of mankind, than such a government as I suppose that those wretches might have had, and rejected. If I admitted that the present scheme of things made a proper provision for liberty, safety, and happiness, and yet rejected it in favour of the old scheme of unlimited monarchy, merely because it less considered the pride, pomp, and power of the sovereign, all that you have said would have been in its proper place, and would have furnished a strong argument against my speculations. I like pimps as little as you do, or their power of depriving any man of his life, liberty, or property, by their base intrigues; and I cannot easily divine why you have chosen to entertain me with your able and spirited invective against them. I deceive myself, if I have any favourite kind of injustice or oppression. If any pimp of Mons. de Vergennes persuaded him to shut up Mons. de Mirabeau in the Bastile, or another to send him as a spy to Berlin, I do not defend Mons. de Vergennes in either of those acts of power. But I find myself full as little disposed to approve the power of Mons. de Mirabeau to send an honest man to the Abbaye, at the instigation of one of his pimps, or to hang him at the Lanterne. You put the case as if, in the predominant faction

in France, there were at the head of it a set of wise and excellent patriots, proceeding with vigour indeed, but with all the attention to order and justice which that vigour admitted, but that they are disgraced by the disorders of an ungovernable mob. This, if you please, you may suppose; but I suppose no such thing. I charge all these disorders, not on the mob, but on the Duke of Orleans, and Mirabeau, and Barnave, and Bailly, and Lameth, and La Fayette, and the rest of that faction, who, I conceive, spent immense sums of money, and used innumerable arts, to instigate the populace throughout France to the enormities they committed; and that the mobs do not disgrace them, but that they throw an odium upon the populace, which, in comparison, is innocent. If you animadverted on me upon this state of the question, it would have been fair; but in your statement of this, and every other matter, I am sorry to say I see the method of controversy rather than of friendly admonition. I decline controversy with you, because I feel myself over-matched in a competition with such talents as yours. I have written this merely because there are circumstances in which silence may be construed into greater disrespect than contradiction; and I should be sorry that any thing in my behaviour could bear the slightest appearance of disrespect to you: it would do little credit to my understanding. For the rest, I am not likely to alter my opinions. I never will be

persuaded that, because people have lived under an absolute monarchy, with all its inconveniences and grievances; therefore, they are in the right to ruin their country, on the speculation of regenerating it in some shape or other. I never can believe it right to destroy all the credit, power, and influence of the gentry of a country, and a great deal of their property, and to rest its administration in the hands of its mechanics; I cannot think the religion of the Gospel, which you speak of with love and respect, or any other, can be promoted by the kind endeavours of those who do not so much as pretend to be any other than atheists. These are opinions I have not lightly formed, or that I can lightly quit. Therefore let us end here all discussion on the subject. There is another, on which I have the happiness of more agreement with you. May I hope to see you on Monday morning, at the house in Duke-street, St. James's, which I have taken? It is a red house. All here present their best respects and wishes; and believe me, with most sincere respect and regard,

My dear sir,
Your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

I shall send to Mr. Troward[1] and some friends to meet you.

[1] The solicitor employed in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

Saturday evening, December 4, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had a long conference yesterday with Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the Speaker, upon the subject of the impeachment [2]. The first is certainly the person to determine. He seemed strongly inclined to revert to the expedient which he originally proposed, and which I thought, on better consideration, he had abandoned,—that of naming a committee to examine precedents. I told him that I had, both in conversation and writing, so fully stated all my objections, that I wished rather to refer to them than to trouble Mr. Pitt, at that time, with any arguments on the subject. He then suggested another method, which was, that on Thursday next (earlier he could do nothing),

[2] The conference appears to have regarded the manner of bringing forward the question, whether the impeachment abated by the dissolution of parliament, which had taken place this year. It was finally disposed of, after much discussion in both Houses, by a message from the Lords to the Commons on the 14th May, 1791, stating that their lordships were ready to proceed with the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.; thus affirming the proposition, that impeachments do not abate by the dissolution of parliament.

we should propose a day for "taking the state of the impeachment into consideration," and desired me to propose it to Fox. He agreed that, though it was a far less dangerous measure than the first, it still seemed to invite discussion. Indeed, Mr. P. gave that, if any thing, or something not very remote from it, as his reason for the choice; as he said it would be the best for giving every man the means of delivering his opinions. I made the objection which ended the business, by his determining nothing, but his telling me that we should hear from him before the time. In fact, Mr. Fox and I agreed that he must guide. He is certainly the most likely to support with effect his own propositions. Mr. Wraxall called me behind the chair, and told me, that he had a proposition to make relative to Hastings' business, which he wished to communicate to me. I declined to receive it. Thus the matter now stands. Mr. Grey proposes to move for more papers. Our most cordial compliments to your house.

I am always most truly yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

Duke-street, St. James's, December 21, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR,

The valuable present which I received from the resident graduates in the university of Oxford, becomes doubly acceptable by passing through your hands. Gentlemen so eminent in science, erudition, and virtue, and who possess the uncommon art of doing kind things in the kindest manner, would naturally choose a person qualified like themselves, to convey their favours and distinctions to those whom they are inclined to honour.

Be pleased to assure those learned gentlemen, that I am beyond measure happy, in finding my well-meant endeavours well received by them; and I think my satisfaction does not arise from motives merely selfish; because their declared approbation must be of the greatest importance in giving an effect (which, without that sanction, might well be wanting) to an humble attempt in favour of the cause of freedom, virtue, and order united. This cause it is our common wish and our common interest to maintain; and it can hardly be maintained without securing, on a solid

foundation, and preserving in an uncorrupted purity the noble establishments which the wisdom of our ancestors have formed for giving permanence to those blessings which they have left us as our best inheritance.

Express to these worthy gentlemen the consolation and support which I feel from their approbation, at a moment when I am, in declining age, strength, and faculties, in my last effort of the long, long struggle which, with you, and so many other excellent persons, I have made to shake off the most dangerous and most malignant distemper by which the constitution of Great Britain was ever attacked, and under which it must sink, if a most marked distinction is not made between the persons who serve us well or ill in the administration of our power abroad; or if eastern despotism, peculation, venality, oppression, inhumanity, and cruelty, can find countenance in this country, to the disgrace of a nation which glories in legal liberty, and to the shame of that religion, which, being founded upon a suffering under tyranny and injustice, both from the great and from the people, in a peculiar manner engages all its professors, and all its teachers, to discountenance such tempers and practices, and even to wage, under the standard of the Captain of our Salvation, a war without quarter upon all cruelty and oppression, wherever they appear, in

whatever shape, and in whatever descriptions of men.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect and affection,

My dear sir,
Your most faithful and obliged
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE HON. JOHN TREVOR, ESQ.[3]

January, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am exceedingly flattered in finding that any thing which I have done could contribute to yours and Mrs. Trevor's entertainment during part of the time that the service of your country abroad deprives it of so much of its ornament and satisfaction at home. The pamphlet which has been so happy as to engage something of yours and Mrs. Trevor's attention, has not been ill-received here. This gives me no small satisfaction, because it shows that the major part of our countrymen do not find their sentiments misrepresented, when I state them as no admirers of the late prosperous, though most unnatural and perfidious, rebellion in

[3] Mr. Trevor was at this time British minister at Turin.

France; or of the degrading tyranny which has been since established in that unfortunate country, under the name of *constitution.*

I thank you for your goodness in sending me Mr. Lally Tolendal's book. It is a very eloquent performance, and might possibly be of great use, if one could guess what would be serviceable in the present state of things. The people of that country are ill of so anomalous, and, in every respect, so new a distemper, that no one can possibly prognosticate any thing concerning its crisis, or its indications of cure. Whether the drastic purges, or the mild aperitives are the most promising, I cannot possibly say. To tell you the truth, I have no opinion at all of internal remedies in their case. To quit the metaphor,—I cannot persuade myself that any thing whatsoever can be effected without a great force from abroad. The predominant faction is the strongest, as I conceive, without comparison. They are armed. Their enemies are disarmed and dispersed. The army seems hardly fit for any good purpose. But the grand point against all interior attempts is, that the faction are in possession. Unless it be taken by surprise, as the late French monarchy was, it is not easy, by conspiracy or insurrection, to overturn any government. A republican government, or rather a body of republican governments, cannot be taken by a *coup de main*, or

put an end to by the seizure of one person. They have the king in custody, and can make him say and do just what they please. The people, too, have the name of the king on their side. All the royal authority which exists, operates against the partizans of the monarchy.

One might as well have expected a counter-revolution in Holland, in Liege, or in the Netherlands, by a change of mind in the people, without a great foreign force, as in France. Full as much in my opinion. Nothing else but a foreign force can or will do. In this design, too, Great Britain and Prussia must at least acquiesce. Nor is it a small military force that can do the business. It is a serious design, and must be done with combined strength. Nor must that strength be under any ordinary conduct. It will require as much political management as military skill in the commanders.

France is weak indeed, divided, and deranged; but God knows, when the things came to be tried, whether the invaders would not find that this enterprize was not to support a party, but to conquer a kingdom. I perhaps have the misfortune to differ with you in one point; and when I do, you may be sure I cannot be very positive in my opinion. My difference is about the time of making the attempt. Every hour any system of government continues, be that system what it

will, the more it obtains consistency, and the better it will be able to provide for its own support; and the less the people, who always look to settlement of one kind or other, will be disposed to any enterprizes for overturning it. If the powers who may be disposed to think, as I most seriously do, that no monarchy, limited or unlimited, nor any of the old republics, can possibly be safe as long as this strange, nameless, wild enthusiastic thing is established in the centre of Europe, may not be in readiness to act in concert and with all their forces,—if this be the case, to be sure nothing is to be attempted but the preluding war of paper. For my part, I am entirely in the dark about the designs and means of the powers of Europe in this respect. However, this I am quite sure of, all the other policy is childish play in comparison.

I have a very high opinion of Mons. de Calonne. His book, upon the whole, must do great service. I wish, indeed, that he had hinted less about arrangements to be made in consequence of success. He speaks as if commissaries had been appointed to settle these differences. But I conceive things are very far from such a state. The matters he proposes will never be understood by the seduced common people; and, as to the leaders, he must think much better of their moderation than I do, if he thinks that any thing

but their present dominion will serve them. Theoretic plans of constitution have been the bane of France; and I am satisfied that nothing can possibly do it any real service, but to establish it upon all its *ancient bases*. Till that is done, one man's speculation will appear as good as another's. Those who think the king and two houses can be the government of France, mistake, I am afraid, the true internal constitution of our government, which is not what it appears on paper. But I have tired you enough already, and will not enter into an explanation on this head.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MADAM D'OSMOND [4].

Beconsfield, January 8, 1791.

MADAM,

I am under inexpressible obligations to you for the very indulgent manner in which you have the goodness to receive what I thought it my duty to England to write on the affairs of France. Would to God that France were capable of being as much instructed by her sufferings, as we are warned by her example!

[4] Madame D'Osmond was a lady about the person of the queen of France.

'You understand me exactly. To have *done* less, would be to fall short of my sentiments. To have *said* any thing at all, would be as presumptuous as indiscreet.

I do not know as well how to excuse myself for passing that line of discretion, which I find myself tempted to do at present. But the conveyance is safe; and one may dispense a little with caution, where we address a person in whose prudence we have a perfect trust. If I did not submit every thing entirely to your judgment, I should never venture, so frankly as I intend to do, to lay before you some thoughts which, for a good while past, have lain upon my mind.

I allow, as I ought, for circumstances in which the situation, and not the person, must be supposed to speak. But after this allowance, I conceive that something is always left in our own power. There is a language which may be more fatal to those who use it than any action; for actions will be interpreted by the compulsion under which they are done; but speeches, especially speeches expressive of forwardness and zeal, will always have the appearance, more or less, of being voluntary. Professions which cannot possibly be credited, except where they must ruin those who make them, seem to me (who see things at the end of a long perspective) to be carried to a very unsafe length. When our enemies have stripped us of our repu-

tation, they may easily strip us of every thing else. A silent obedience is all that can be expected by the most austere tyrants; and it is all that can be safely practised by those who have no deliberative capacity.

As to measures, in that deplorable situation (which I feel in all its extent), they require two things that rarely meet—great caution and great firmness. I hate bold counsellors. Nobody can exert the wisdom of intrepidity by the bravery of others. Steps of resolution must come from the courage of those who are to act in chief. The advisers are only to temper, moderate, and direct; it is not for them to animate. Thus far I think we may go, without quitting the character of a sober adviser; that is, if any remonstrance at all is used, it ought never to be retracted, even where necessity may require a final obedience. The necessity ought to glare in the act of submission. Perhaps all opposition ought to be to the first steps in the series, and not to those which must follow of course. After having gone to certain lengths of acquiescence, perhaps the wiser course would be to forbear every remonstrance, every sort of opposition. Opposition seems to indicate choice. Here no choice exists. After having gone so very, very far, whenever a stop or pause is made, it must be upon a matter comparatively of small importance, for what else is left to debate? The hesitation

will be construed into disaffection, and a desire to quarrel; to raise a contest without any means of supporting it; and the only effect of engaging in it, must be, by the frequency of defeats, to reduce our reputation to nothing. Our lives themselves will become less necessary every hour, to the purposes of good or of bad men, by our employing a language not belonging to the natural sentiments of oppressed dignity.

I know very well that these speeches are written by persons who are jailors, not counsellors; but there seems no necessity of signing any thing more than what is drily official and formal. Cold formality is a great guard to dignity, even in its best situations. The language of form is the only safe language of submission. To expand ourselves in sentimental professions, is more disheartening than can be expressed, to friends at a distance. To those to whom they are directly used, they appear the effects of an active and designing dissimulation; and serve as a sort of justification to the last measures of hostility of those wicked persons, who first drive men to the necessity of dissimulation, and then urge their insincerity as an excuse for getting rid of them.

I perceive that I am speaking of things every moment governed by the exigencies of the moment. I am at a distance from the scene of suffering; and, as it may possibly appear, at my ease. The first is

true; the last I assure you is much otherwise. I take a very strong interest in all you suffer; and I feel for your calamitous situation, with a sympathy mixed with the most profound respect. It is that sympathy which has urged me to do what I do very rarely—to give an unasked opinion. Have the goodness to pardon my extraordinary freedom. I scarcely know how to pardon it to myself. No person, madam, can more sincerely admire your talents, your spirit, your principles, and your honour, and unshaken fidelity, than I do; or wishes more cordially, that those virtues which adorn you in adversity, may themselves be decorated by a suitable prosperity. If that should be answerable to my wishes, you will stand high indeed.

Be so obliging as to receive Mr. Tyrwhit, who is so kind as to be the bearer of this. He is a good friend of mine, a worthy man, and to say all, a good *aristocrate;* which, however, is here no uncommon character.

I have the honour to be, with the most entire respect, and the most devoted attachment,

Madam, your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I have the honour of sending the books.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO A FRENCH LADY [5].

Beconsfield, January 25, 1791.

MADAM,

I have been much gratified, and at the same time most seriously affected, with the letter I have had the honour to receive from you. It is dated the 30th of last December. By some accident, it did not come into my hands until within a very few days. You do not mistake me. I sympathize most sincerely with your situation, your sentiments, and your feelings. When I consider who they are that are driven from their country, and who they are that remain in it, in possession of all its powers, I am nothing less than an unconcerned spectator. The country which expels its best citizens, and places its confidence in its worst, may call itself free, and may boast of having established their constitution on the rights of men; but they will find that they have settled their system, not on the rights, but on the vices of men; and that they neither are, nor can, nor ought to be free. Give it what form they may, they have a

[5] This letter is probably addressed to the same person as that which immediately precedes.

bad government. I cannot pretend to feel as a Frenchman on this shameful state of things; but I feel, as a man, for what humanity suffers; and I feel, as an Englishman, great dread and apprehension from the contagious nature of these abominable principles and vile manners, which threaten the worst and most degrading barbarism to every adjacent country. No argument can persuade me, that if they are suffered finally to triumph in France, they will want more than the occasion of some domestic trouble or disturbance (against which no government can be insured) to extend themselves to us, and to blast all the health and vigour of that happy constitution which we enjoy, by acting upon other principles and in another spirit.

I am obliged to you, madam, for thinking as well of my intentions as they deserve. As to the rest, nothing but the most unpardonable vanity could make me conceive that I at all deserve the high things that you are pleased to speak of my feeble endeavours in the cause of justice. In what you have said with regard to them, I read nothing but your love for your country, and your extreme generosity, which leads you to exaggerate the value of every endeavour to serve it in its present unhappy situation. In that light I receive the compliments which, in their excess, do so much honour to the noble qualities of the mind that

dictates them. I certainly would do more if I could; but I am a private man, totally destitute of authority and importance in the state, and am perhaps not perfectly well with those who possess its powers. I have given all to the cause which a man without authority can give,—his unbiassed opinion, his honest advice, and his best reasons. Alas, madam, it is not to me, or to such services as can come from me, that the persecuted honour of France must apply. Nothing more can be said; something must be done. You have an armed tyranny to deal with, and nothing but arms can pull it down. Aided by these, reason may resume its natural authority; without them, by frequent repetition, it loses its force; by frequent failure, it loses its credit. When such men as Abbé Maury, Mons. Cazalès, the bishops of Aix, Clermont, and Nancy, such men as Mons. Lally Tolendal, and Mons. Mounier, and Mons. de Calonne, with all the possible force of eloquence in their own language, and with the most masterly knowledge of their own affairs, have produced little or no effect, what can be expected from me, a stranger, writing in a foreign language, with sentiments not so powerful in themselves, and weakened still more by the secondary medium through which they must pass to the ears of Frenchmen? I certainly never should have written one word more upon the subject, convinced as

I am of its utter inutility, if I had not been applied to by a gentleman at Paris, of rank and consideration, for an explanation of some sentiments and expressions in my printed letter. I finished it about a week or ten days ago; but it will not go until next Friday, on account of the difficulty of sending such things safely since the post has been declared inviolable. It is long and full; as full, at least, as the subject of his inquiry demanded. He seemed willing that it should be something which might be published. He has my leave to publish or to suppress it, as he thinks may be best for his cause. He, and gentlemen in his situation, are the only competent judges of what that *best* is. I have spoken my mind in that letter very plainly and very directly, upon very delicate points. It is not at all easy to say what is, or is not, prudent, in the present posture of your affairs. I have had a beautiful and affecting piece of Mons. Lally conveyed to me from Tufin. He takes occasion, from a transaction in the Roman history, to pique his countrymen on the inglorious situation of France, with regard to foreign powers, and he holds out to them a prospect of the recovery of national importance, with their return to some system of good government. The pamphlet is written with great,—that is, with his usual eloquence. But I believe he totally mistakes the character of the people whom he ad-

dresses. He speaks as if he applied himself to high-minded Roman military republicans; or to an ancient, spirited French nobility, wholly devoted to political and martial glory. He speaks to a people made up, in part, of sophisters, whose sole idea of glory is to come off victoriously in a dispute concerning the rights of men;—in part, of corporations, of tradesmen, and mechanics, and of a nobility, who, by levelling themselves with them, have sunk much below them. He addresses himself to tribes of jobbers; and the voice of honour would be as well heard on the Jews' walk of the Changes of London or Amsterdam, as in the national assembly, or in the coffee-houses and clubs that direct them. They who direct, at present, are persons who consider national reputation in no other sense than as the credit of the *Caisse-d'escompte*; and he would make ten times the impression on them by making it appear that the abolition of their monarchy, their church, and their nobility, would produce a fall of a quarter per cent. on *assignats*, than if he could prove to them that their measures would tend to make France a mere dependent on any of its neighbours, or even tributary to them, provided the tribute would be received in notes and actions. If I am not greatly deceived in my speculations, not one trait of the national character of French-

men is left, except vanity; and that, totally perverted and turned to vile and base objects.

It is not in my power to turn my thoughts any longer to the affairs of France. I am called to another and a very difficult duty, in a conflict with another tyranny. In this I cannot so much as relax without direct treachery, both in reality and in appearance. I am, however, as sensible as I ought to be, of the distinction you confer upon me, in your wishing me to turn my thoughts towards your afflicted concerns.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect,

Madam,

Your most obedient and obliged
humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I ask pardon for my blots. It is not proper, I am sensible, to send you a paper in that fashion; but I am utterly incapable of writing without them. I forgot to mention that you have done me too much honour in attributing a comedy to me. I have never written any dramatic piece whatsoever, nor am I capable of that kind of performance, which requires the exertion of great and peculiar talents. The very first opportunity I can find, I shall obey your flattering commands about the book.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO CAPTAIN WOODFORD [6].

Duke-street, St. James's, February 11, 1791.

SIR,

I must beg your favourable interpretation of my long silence. I have really been engaged in business which has occupied my whole mind, and made me somewhat negligent in the attentions which are most justly due from me. Amongst these I must reckon what I owe to you, for your communication of the sentiments of the Abbé Maury, and for the very polite and obliging manner in which you have made that communication.

I have to thank you for the excellent speeches of the Abbé, which, until your goodness furnished me with them, I had never read. I had never before seen any thing of his, which could furnish a proper idea of his manner of treating a subject. I had seen him only in detached pieces; and

[6] Captain Woodford was at this time either in Paris, or had lately come from thence. This gentleman quitted the military service of England early in life, but was employed, first in the Commissariat, and afterwards under the Secretary at War, for several years subsequent to the declaration of war between England and France in 1793.

sometimes, I apprehend, under the disadvantage of a representation of his enemies. Even in that form, I thought I perceived the traces of a superior mind. The pieces which you have been so kind to put in my hands, have more than justified the ideas I had formed of him from reputation. I find there a bold, manly, commanding, haughty tone of eloquence, free and rapid, and full of resources; but admiring as I do his eloquence, I admire much more his unwearied perseverance, his invincible constancy, his firm intrepidity, his undaunted courage, and his noble defiance of vulgar opinion and popular clamour. These are real foundations of glory. Whenever he shall get rid of the dangers of his inviolability, and shall wish to relax in the ease and free intercourse of this land of slavery, (in which he has nothing to dread from a committee of researches, or the excellent laws of *lese-nation*,) he shall, with a very sincere and open heart, receive from me the *accolade chevaleresque*, which he condescends to desire; for he has acquitted himself *en preux chevalier*, and as a valiant champion in the cause of honour, virtue, and noble sentiments,—in the cause of his king and his country,—in the cause of law, religion, and liberty. Be pleased only to express my sorrow, that the mediocrity of my situation, and the very bad French which I speak, will neither of them suffer me to entertain him with the

distinction I should wish to show him. I will do the best I can. I have had the Count de Mirabeau in my house; will he submit afterwards to enter under the same roof? I will have it purified and expiated, and I shall look into the best *formulas* from the time of Homer downwards, for that purpose. I will do every thing but imitate the Spaniard, who burned his house because the Connétable de Bourbon had been lodged in it. That ceremony is too expensive for my finances. Any thing else I shall readily submit to for its purification; for I am extremely *superstitious*, and think his coming into it was of evil augury; worse, a great deal, than the crows, which the Abbé will find continually flying about me. It is his having been in so many prisons in France that has proved so ominous to them all. Let the Hall of the National Assembly look to itself, and take means of averting the same ill auspices that threaten it. They are a fine nation that send their monarchs to prison, and take their successors from the jails! The birth of such monsters has made me as superstitious as Livy. A friend of mine, just come from Paris, tells me he was present when the Count de Mirabeau—I beg his pardon,—M. Ricquetti [7], thought proper to enter-

[7] Riquetti was the family name of Mirabeau, which he and the supporters of the Revolution used in preference to his title of Mirabeau.

tain the assembly with his opinion of me. I only answer him by referring him to the WORLD's opinion of *him*. I have the happiness not to be disapproved by my sovereign. I can bear the frowns of Ricquetti the First, who is theirs. I am safe under the British laws. I don't intend to put myself in the way of his inquisition, or of his *lanterne;* which I consider as much more dangerous to honest men, though not to him, than the Bastile was formerly. If I were to go to France, I should think the government of Louis the Sixteenth much more favourable to liberty than that of their present king, Ricquetti the First. In one thing, indeed, I find him, though he was a bad subject, to me at least a kind sovereign; since, in speaking of me, he has done it in the only way which could contribute either to my satisfaction or reputation. To be the subject of M. Ricquetti's invectives and of Abbé Maury's approbation at the same time, is an honour to which little can be added. Mirabeau, in his jail, would be an object of my pity; on his throne (which, by the sport of fortune, may be the reward of what commonly leads to what I don't choose to name,) he is the object of my disdain. For vice is never so odious, and to rational eyes never so contemptible, as when it usurps and disgraces the natural place of virtue; and virtue is never more amiable to all who have a true taste for beauty, than when she

is naked, and stripped of all the borrowed ornaments of fortune. Mons. Cazalès and Abbé Maury have derived advantages to their fame from their disasters, which they never could have had from the most prosperous event of their conflicts; which, however, I wish may come in the end, not for their own sakes, but for the benefit of mankind.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BINTINNAYE [8].

Duke-street, March, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honour to receive your most friendly and obliging letter from Brussels. You greatly overrate the value of the very few attentions

[8] The Chevalier de la Bintinnaye was a relation of Cicé, Bishop of Auxerre, with whom the Burkes, father and son, formed an intimate acquaintance when in France in 1773; Richard Burke residing for some time at Auxerre, in the house of the bishop's agent, as has been related in a former note. Thus the bishop, the chevalier, and his brother the Abbé de la Bintinnaye, became known to Mr. Burke and his son,

which I had the means of showing you, whilst you remained in London. I do most sincerely lament the sad occasion that produced our acquaintance. In so great a public disaster, however, I feel this consolation, that I had an opportunity of seeing undeserved affliction borne with a manly constancy, and that the same courage which produced your honourable wounds, and sustained you under them, has enabled you to support your reverse of fortune with dignity, which becomes those who suffer in the cause of honour and virtue. I should be happy to send you a copy of the letter which I wrote to a person of distinction in Paris, in answer to one from him[9]. But as I had my doubts whether what I wrote in the present temper of the times, and the present posture of affairs, might be useful in the publication, I left the matter to the gentleman's own discretion, promising not to disperse any copies without his leave. This, I hope, my dear sir, will plead my excuse to you. I did hear that a translation of that letter was preparing at Paris. If this be the case, you will see it very soon. It will, I am afraid, afford you no very great satisfaction. Some part of the letter

from both of whom they received the kindest attention when in England, subsequently to their emigration from France.

[9] This is probably the letter to a member of the National Assembly, published in the 6th volume of Burke's works, octavo edition.

was to exculpate myself (or rather perhaps to apologize) from some faults which the gentleman found in my pamphlet. The rest was to show, from the actual state of France, (as well as I was able to enter into its condition,) the utter impossibility of a counter-revolution from any internal cause. You know, sir, that no party can act without a resolute, vigorous, zealous, and enterprising chief. The chief of every monarchical party must be the monarch himself;—at least, he must lend himself readily to the spirit and energy of others. You have a well-intentioned and virtuous prince; but minds like his, bred with no other view than to a safe and languid domination, are not made for breaking their prisons, terrifying their enemies, and animating their friends. Besides, in a wife and children, he has given hostages to his enemies. If the king can do nothing in his situation, the wonder is not great. It is much greater, on all appearance, that not one man is to be found in the numerous nobility of France, who, to great military talents adds any sort of lead, consideration, or following, in the country or in the army. To strengthen itself, the monarchy had weakened every other force. To unite the nation to itself, it had dissolved all other ties. When the chain which held the people to the prince was once broken, the whole frame of the commonwealth was found in a state of disconnexion. There was

neither force nor union any where, to sustain the monarchy, or the nobility, or the church. As to great and commanding talents, they are the gift of Providence in some way unknown to us. They rise where they are least expected. They fail when every thing seems disposed to produce them, or at least to call them forth. Your sole hope seems to me to rest in the disposition of the neighbouring powers, and in their ability to yield you assistance. I can conjecture nothing with certainty of this, in either of the points. But at present I see nothing that in the smallest degree looks that way. In the mean time the usurpation gathers strength by continuance, and credit by success. People will look to power, and join, or, at least, accommodate themselves to it. I confess I am astonished at the blindness of the states of Europe, who are contending with each other about points of trivial importance, and on old worn-out principles and topics of policy, when the very existence of all of them is menaced by a new evil, which none of the ancient maxims are of the least importance in dissipating. But in all these things, we must acknowledge and revere, in silence, a superior hand. In the spirit of this submission I, however, am so far from blaming every sort of endeavour, that I much lament the remissness of the gentlemen of France. Their adversaries have seized upon all the newspapers

which circulate within this kingdom, and which from hence are dispersed all over Europe. That they are masters of the presses of Paris, is a thing of course. But surely, the oppressed party might amongst them maintain a person here, to whom they might transmit a true state of affairs. The emissaries of the usurpation here, are exceedingly active in propagating stories which tend to alienate the minds of people of this country from the suffering cause. Not one French refugee has intelligence or spirit enough to contradict them. I have done all which the common duties of humanity can claim from one who has not the honour of being a subject of France. I have duties and occupations at home, public and private, which will not suffer me to continue longer with my thoughts abroad. But if any gentleman from France would undertake such a task, with proper materials for it, he should have my best advice. The expense of such a person stationed here would not be great; and surely, reduced as the *noblesse* of France not expatriated are, enough remains to them to do this and more. If their avarice, or their dissipation, will afford nothing to their honour or their safety, their case is additionally deplorable.

My wife and my son always preserve the most respectful and affectionate remembrance of you, of the bishop, and of Mademoiselle de Cicé. I

have had a letter from the Vicomte, with a very satisfactory memorial. I have given him an answer, and have taken the liberty of putting further questions to him.

I have the honour to be, with the most cordial and respectful attachment,

Dear sir,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

I have written at large to the Vicomte de Cicé, and directed my letter to Jersey. I hear that he is now at Brussels; I hope he has got my letter. Pray present my most humble respects to him.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEV. DE RIVAROL [1].

June 1, 1791.

SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your very polite and flattering attention to me, and the piece which you are pleased to regard with so much

[1] M. de Rivarol was a gentleman of the south of France, who engaged actively on the monarchical side, and wrote several pieces against the Revolution and its supporters. He was banished by the Directory in 1797, and died in 1801.

indulgence. It is an endeavour very well intended, but I am conscious, very inadequate to the great interest of this kingdom, and of mankind, which it proposes to assert.

I have seen, though too late to profit by them, your brother's admirable annals, which may rank with those of Tacitus. If there is, indeed, a strong coincidence in our way of thinking, I ought to be very proud of that circumstance. If I had seen his performance before I had written on the same subject, I should rather have chosen to enrich my pamphlet with quotations from thence, than have ventured to express the thoughts in which we agreed, in worse words of my own. I thank you, too, for the elegant poem which you have done me the honour to transmit to me with your letter. So far as I am capable of forming any judgment upon French poetry, the verses are spirited and well-turned, and the author possesses the art of interesting the passions, which is the triumph of that kind of eloquence. I wish, without disguising my real sentiments, I could go as far in my approbation of the general tendency of one of these pieces, and of the policy of such publications at such a time as this. Forgive me, sir, if I take the liberty of suggesting to your superior judgment, as well as to that of the Emperor's advisers, that it is not very easy to suppress (by the methods lately used) what you call *the monkish*

fury, without exciting fury of another kind;—a sort of fury which will perhaps be found more untractable than the other, and which may be carried to much greater lengths. In such a dilemma, it would not misbecome a great statesman seriously to consider what he has in charge to support, and the country, which it is his duty to preserve in peace and prosperity. That fury which arises in the minds of men, on being stripped of their goods and turned out of their houses by acts of power, and our sympathy with them under such wrongs, are feelings implanted in us by our Creator, to be (under the direction of His laws) the means of our preservation. Such fury and such sympathy are things very different from men's imaginary political systems concerning governments. They arise out of instinctive principles of self-defence, and are executive powers under the legislation of nature, enforcing its first laws. These principles, prince and commonwealth (whatever they may think their rights) cannot always attack with perfect impunity. If princes will, in cold blood, and from mistaken ideas of policy, excite the passions of the multitude against particular descriptions of men, whether they be priests or nobility, in order to avail themselves of the assistance of that multitude in their enterprizes against those classes, let them recollect that they call in the aid of an ally

more dangerous to themselves than those whom they are desirous of oppressing.

The Netherlands have been but newly recovered to the Emperor. He owes that recovery to a concurrence of very extraordinary circumstances, and he has made great sacrifices to his object. Is it really his interest to have it understood that he means to repeat the very proceedings which have excited all the late troubles in his territories? Can it be true that he means to draw up the very same flood-gates which have let loose the deluge that has overwhelmed the great monarchy in his neighbourhood? Does he think, if he means to encourage the spirit which prevails in France, that it will be exerted in his favour, or to answer his purposes? Whilst he is destroying prejudices, which (under good management) may become the surest support of his government, is he not afraid that the discussion may go further than he wishes? If he excites men to inquire too scrupulously into the foundation of all old opinion, may he not have reason to apprehend that several will see as little use in monarchs as in monks? The question is not whether they will argue logically or not, but whether the turn of mind, which leads to such discussions, may not become as fatal to the former as the latter. He may trust in the fine army he has assembled, but fine armies have been seduced from their alle-

giance, and the seducers are not far from him. He may fortify his frontier, but fortresses have been betrayed by their garrisons, and garrisons overpowered by burghers. Those of the democratical faction, in the Netherlands, have always an armed ally more conveniently situated to assist them, than the Emperor is conveniently situated to assist himself. Would not prudence rather direct him, I say, to fortify himself in the heart of his people, by repairing, rather than by destroying, those dykes and barriers which prejudice might raise in his favour, and which cost nothing to his treasury either in the construction or the reparation?

It were better to forget, once for all, the *encyclopédie* and the whole body of economists, and to revert to those old rules and principles which have hitherto made princes great, and nations happy. Let not a prince circumstanced like him, weakly fall in love either with monks or nobles, still less let him violently hate them. In his Netherlands, he possesses the most populous, the best cultivated, and the most flourishing country in Europe; a country from which, at this day, and even in England, we are to learn the perfect practice of the best of arts,—that of agriculture. If he has a people like the Flemings, industrious, frugal, easy, obedient, what is it to him whether they are fond of monks, or

love ringing of bells, and lighting of candles, or not? A wise prince, as I hope the emperor is, will study the genius of his people. He will indulge them in their humours, he will preserve them in their privileges, he will act upon the circumstances of his states as he finds them, and whilst thus acting upon the practical principles of a practical policy, he is the happy prince of a happy people. He will not care what the Condorcet and the Raynal, and the whole flight of the magpies and jays of philosophy, may fancy, and chatter concerning his conduct and character.

Well it is for the Emperor, that the late rebellion of the Netherlands was a rebellion against innovation. When, therefore, he returned to the possession of his estates, (an event which no man wished more sincerely than I did,) he found none of the ancient landmarks removed. He found every thing, except the natural effects of a transient storm, exactly as it was on the day of the revolt. Would the king of France supposing his restoration probable, find his kingdom in the same condition? Oh no, sir! Many long, long labours would be required to restore that country to any sort of good order. Why? because their rebellion is the direct contrary to that of Flanders. It is a *revolt of innovation;* and thereby, the very elements of society have been confounded and dissipated. Small politicians will certainly recom-

mend to him to nourish a democratical party, in order to curb the aristocratic and the clerical. In general, all policy founded on discord is perilous to the prince and fatal to the country. The support of the permanent orders in their places, and the reconciling them all to his government, will be his best security, either for governing quietly in his own person, or for leaving any sure succession to his posterity. Corporations, which have a perpetual succession, and hereditary *noblesse*, who themselves exist by succession, are the true guardians of monarchical succession. On such orders and institutions alone an hereditary monarchy can stand. What they call *Démocratie Royale* in France, is laughed at by the very authors as an absurd chimera. Where all things are elective, you may call a king hereditary, but he is for the present a cipher; and the succession is not supported by any analogy in the state, nor combined with any sentiments whatsoever existing in the minds of the people. It is a solitary, unsupported, anomalous thing.

The story you tell of the *Chartreux* in the time of Charles the Fifth, may be true for any thing I know to the contrary. But what inference can be drawn from it? Why should it be necessary to influence the people, at such a time as this, to rob the Chartreux who had no hand in that murder? Were the Chartreux, that I have seen

at Paris, employed in committing or meditating murders? Are they so at La Trappe, or at the Grande Chartreuse, or any where else? Inferences will be made from such a story; I don't mean logical, but practical inferences, which will harden the hearts of men in this age of spoil, not only against them, but against a considerable portion of the human race. Some of these monks, in a sudden transport of fury, murdered somebody in the time of Charles the Fifth. What then? I am certain that not only in the time of Charles the Fifth, but now and at all times, and in all countries, and in the bosom of the dearest relations of life, the most dreadful tragedies have been, and are daily acted. Is it right to bring forth these examples to make us abhor these relations?

You observe that a sequestration from the connexions of society, makes the heart cold and unfeeling. I believe it may have that tendency, though this is more than I find to be fact, from the result of my observations and inquiries. But in the theory, it seems probable. However, as the greatest crimes do not arise so much from a want of feeling for others, as from an over-sensibility for ourselves, and an over-indulgence to our own desires, very sequestered people, (such as the Chartreux,) as they are less touched with the sympathies which soften the manners, are less engaged in the passions which agitate the mind.

The best virtues can hardly be found among them; but crimes must be more rare in that form of society, than in the active world. If I were to trust to my observation and give a verdict on it, I must depose that, in my experience, I have found that those who were most indulgent to themselves were (in the mass) less kind to others, than those who have lived a life nearer to self-denial. I go farther.—In my experience I have observed, that a luxurious softness of manners hardens the heart, at least as much as an over-done abstinence. I question much whether moral policy will justify us in an endeavour to interest the heart in favour of immoral, irregular, and illegal actions, on account of particular touching circumstances that may happen to attend the commission or the punishment of them. I know poets are apt enough to choose such subjects, in order to excite the high relish arising from the mixed sensations which will arise in that anxious embarrassment of the mind, whenever it finds itself in a locality where vices and virtues meet near their confines, where

> —— Mire sagaces falleret hospites
> Discrimen obscurum.

I think, of late, that the Parisian philosophers have done upon meditated system, what the poets

are naturally led to by a desire of flattering the passions. To you, as a poet, this is to be allowed. To philosophers, one cannot be so indulgent. For, perhaps, ladies ought not to love too well, like the Phædras and Myrrhas of old, or the ancient or modern Eloises. They had better not pursue their lovers into convents of Carthusians, nor follow them in disguise to camps and slaughter-houses! But I have observed that the philosophers, in order to insinuate their polluted atheism into young minds, systematically flatter all their passions, natural and unnatural. They explode, or render odious or contemptible, that class of virtues which restrain the appetite. These are at least nine out of ten of the virtues. In the place of all this, they substitute a virtue which they call humanity or benevolence. By these means their morality has no idea in it of restraint, or indeed of a distinct settled principle of any kind. When their disciples are thus left free, and guided only by present feeling, they are no longer to be depended upon for good or evil. The men who, to-day, snatch the worst criminals from justice, will murder the most innocent persons to-morrow.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE MARQUIS DE BOUILLÉ [2].

Margate, July 13, 1791.

SIR,

I am this day honoured with your most obliging and most acceptable letter from Luxemburgh. I receive it with all the grateful acknowledgments which so distinguished a favour demands. I have not, indeed, the advantage of a personal acquaintance with you; but I and all my countrymen have reason fully to know, and highly to respect, your merits. In our late hostility, we found you a brave, honourable, and formidable enemy. In your victory, we found you a moderate, just, humane, and disinterested conqueror. You have merited an expulsion from the France of this day.

Knowing, and therefore esteeming you as we do, we had our eyes naturally turned towards you, in this great crisis of the French monarchy, and of all monarchies. I assure you, sir, that there is not a man in England so unjust as to doubt but that, when occasion offered, you would use that sword,

[2] The celebrated Marquis de Bouillé, who commanded a French corps in the West Indies during the American war, and distinguished himself by the humane protection he afforded to the inhabitants of those islands which fell into his hands. Having been selected by the king to facilitate his escape from

which the merchants of London had the honour of presenting to you as an acknowledgment of your generosity and humanity, as it became you to use it;—that is, in the defence of your injured sovereign, and in the cause of persecuted virtue, subverted order, and oppressed liberty. We had as little doubt, that if fortune should smile on your endeavours, you would make as noble a use of your success, with regard to the misguided part of your countrymen, as you have done with regard to strangers.

It has not yet pleased God to put you to this second trial. You have another first to pass through. Your attempt for the king's escape was certainly a right measure. For the moment, things may seem the worse for its having failed. But the king was much censured for not having tried it before. Now he has tried it, and not succeeded; what had been before so strongly urged, is now as loudly censured. But this is nothing but what happens in all similar cases. He ought to have risked every consequence. There are times when a decisive action must be brought on, though the consequences of a defeat in such an action are terrible. The king had been in a situation of unexampled disgrace. In his avowed prison he is more like a

Paris, he put himself at the head of a body of troops for that purpose. Upon the failure of that enterprise, he quitted France with some difficulty. He died in London in 1803.

king than he was in his state of pretended liberty. It was necessary that he should declare himself at last, and decline putting his hand to the final ruin of France, by the proscription of his family, and of all those who adhered to him.

This event has brought out that protestation of the two hundred and ninety members of the Assembly so useful to the good cause. It has furnished new motives, and clear grounds of justification, to quicken the preparations of the powers of Europe, if any they are making, for the liberty of their friend, their kinsman, and their ally, as well as for their own safety, by the restoration of order, laws, and true freedom to France. I am far, indeed, from recommending rash enterprises with inadequate force. There is a dark cloud over us all. I wonder at the general supineness of crowned heads, and of those whose existence is connected with the principle of monarchy. They seem to me to be too much under the influence both of security and fear.

I am very happy, sir, that you approve of my late conduct in the House of Commons. I have lost some few friends by it, but I have not lost my spirits, nor my principles, and I have rather increased my inward peace. I have spoken the sense of infinitely the majority of my countrymen, and that also of my late party, (at least I think so,) though, from deference to some persons, they do

not think it necessary to speak out so clearly; and perhaps do not think, that where the danger does not appear so immediate to their own country, that they are called upon to take a decided part, the one way or the other. But I am sure the sentiments of London were not equivocal, when the news of the king's escape arrived there. The joy was almost universal; and one saw every where the people stopping in the streets, and mutually felicitating each other on that event. The sorrow for his second captivity was altogether as real, and unaffected, and general. As to France, I believe it is the only country upon earth through which, for so long a way, a spectacle of suffering royalty, in every circumstance of dignity, of sex, and of age,—things that are apt to mollify the hardest hearts,—could have passed, without any other sentiment than that of the most barbarous and outrageous insolence. One person only chose to show the feelings of a man, and he was murdered for his sensibility. This I understand was the fate of Mons. de la Dampierre, at Chalons. I am persuaded that the sands of Africa, and the wilds of America, would not have shown any thing so barbarous and perfectly savage. But those who have denied the God of humanity, and made the apotheosis of Voltaire, are deprived of all the feelings of nature and of grace. They cry, "Give unto us Barabbas." When they suffer as the Jews,

they will have more pity from good men than they are entitled to from[3] any they have shown to suffering dignity and innocence. If such men as you did not redeem the whole race of them, one would be ashamed of being of the same form and nature with such wretches. I fully enter into the sentiments of your manly and just indignation.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest gratitude for your attention, and the highest respect for your character and conduct,

Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, SEN., ESQ.[4]

Margate, July 25, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

You have by this seen and conferred with your nephew. Dundas's letter, which it seems he might

[3] *i. e.* in consequence of.

[4] This letter refers to a proposed visit which was soon after made by Mr. Burke's son to the French princes, brothers of Louis XVIth. It was undertaken at the suggestion of M. de Calonne. The princes, it will be remembered, left France in 1789, and placed themselves at the head of the great body of royalist emigrants from that kingdom. They kept a kind of court at Coblentz, and at this time, 1791, M. de Calonne acted as their minister. This gentleman being in England in

have expected, makes his going to town a very awkward business, as by that means, as the say-

this year, conceived the project of obtaining for the princes, and through them for the king of France, the advantage of Mr. Burke's advice in the re-organization of the French government, which, at this period, there seemed some hope of accomplishing, by the return of the princes to France with the aid of foreign forces. M. de Calonne, in pursuance of his design, went to Margate, where Mr. Burke passed a few weeks of this summer for the recovery of Mrs. Burke's health, and left an anonymous letter at Mr. Burke's house, requesting an interview, which he begged might be private, in order to avoid the observation of the French embassy. Burke at first refused it; but it appears afterwards to have been granted, and M. de Calonne succeeded in effecting his object. It was agreed that Mr. Richard Burke, Junior, should proceed to the continent, as the representative of his father, and to communicate between him and the princes. His journey seems to have been undertaken with the knowledge of the English government, Mr. Richard Burke having permission to make Mr. Dundas acquainted with any matter of political importance which might come to his knowledge while abroad.

The letters which passed between Mr. Burke and his son, whilst the latter was abroad on this business, (several of which are given in this volume,) are now chiefly interesting, as exhibiting Mr. Burke's opinions as to the description of government he wished to see established in France. He by no means desired the restoration of the ancient despotism which had led to the revolution. Far from it. He wished to set up a constitutional government, based upon the ancient free institutions of France, upholding the church and monarchy, but correcting the abuses of both. His letter to his son of the 26th September in this year is clear upon this point.

ing is, he is neither here nor there. I do not think they will give any encouragement to his going abroad; and without it, I think the journey is not likely to be very creditable or pleasant to him. If they should give any such encouragement, I should like the trip as much as he. But as it would mark nothing short of the most perfect confidence, I don't think they will do it. Half confidence, or a power given to be disavowed, is a ticklish thing. The more I consider it, the more delicate it appears to me. God direct him. However, if he continues in town, (the uncertainty of this hinders my writing to himself,) he had better see Lord Loughborough. He must be as sensible as we are that the dissenters are resolved to go through, and that several of the whig party who are not professed dissenters, if they will not go through along with them, will give them all the encouragement they can. What is there to oppose to them but the mob, or the weighty part of the country? If it be left to the mob, we see what happens. If they are suffered to go on, they commit that havoc which we want to guard against in the others. They bring great disgrace upon a cause; and, when once set afloat, it is impossible to guess what turn they may take. There is no way left but for the weighty men of all parties to declare themselves, not only in favour of our constitution, which the others will do hypocritically when they are driven to it, but

to declare against the French business, which cuts off that faction by the roots. If they will not do this, the dissenters will infallibly triumph; for no government, indeed no honest man, will tolerate the excesses of the populace, which, though to a degree provoked by the petulance of these people, were truly horrid [5]. My ideas are, that the judges should every where recommend peace and good order in their charges to the grand juries; and that not only in general, but that they should directly censure the circulation of treasonable books, and factious federations, and any communication or communion with wicked and desperate people in other countries; and to get the grand juries to address, or to present such things. If they cannot come up to this, you will see that this Birmingham business will turn out finally to their great advantage. They are rich and politic, and in my opinion, a plan lies quite obvious, that would set them up extremely high in public opinion. If I were in their condition, I should not be at any loss. There are good things in the newspaper. But they have not hit the nail on the head.

* * * * * * * [6]

[5] Mr. Burke alludes to riots which had lately occurred in Birmingham, where the houses of some respectable dissenters had been attacked by a mob.

[6] Part omitted as merely private.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Margate, August 5, 1791.

MY DEAREST SON AND FRIEND,

We are made as happy as any thing can make us, at your fortunate voyage and safe arrival, and trust that all will follow in the same train. We got your letter from Fector and Minett at Dover, who have always been very attentive. Before we had got it, (which is only within this hour,) I had written to you by the post. My letter contained very near all that I had to say.

Lest you should not get that letter, I send you your uncle's, (with whom I quite agree,) and as many others as I think you would like to see. That from the bishop-elect of Salisbury[7], I think may be of use; but to be produced with reserve. I am more and more convinced, indeed beyond all doubt, that those who wish to deliver France from the bondage of anarchy, and the slavery of vice and confusion, have not only the neutrality, but the cordial good wishes of this court, and of *far* the majority of the people. You know yourself, by the most unequivocal proofs, that it required the most active and vigilant attention of government to prevent the people from falling

[7] Dr. Douglas.

every where upon the French federations[8], with perhaps as much eagerness and violence as they used at Birmingham. They were not thus protected, from any approbation of their proceedings, but from a just dread of the consequences of suffering the populace to be led by their own precipitate impulses. You remember the unfeigned joy which prevailed through London, on the escape of the king of France; and the dejection as general which took place on his being brought back to his prison. Had he succeeded in making his escape, there would have been a general illumination. The newspapers are not the representatives of our feelings. As to the party in which I once acted, and to which I am still inwardly tied by great affection, you know that the whole of those who think with the French revolution, (if in reality they think at all seriously with it,) do not exceed half a score in both Houses. If two or three, whom I think doubtful, were added, you see the difference would not be very material. They who want to move, have nothing to fear from this nation, or from any part of it. Those who wish them well are strong; their ill-wishers are weak. It may be asked, why I represent the whole party as tolerating, and by a toleration countenancing those proceedings? It

[8] English societies proposing to unite, or affiliate as they called it, with the French Jacobin clubs.

is to get the better of their inactivity, and to stimulate them to a public declaration of what every one of their acquaintance privately knows to be as much their sentiments as they are yours and mine. Lord Conyngham and General Sandford go this day to Brussels. They sail at four this afternoon. I send with them the pamphlets. Give one, with my best services, to Lord Camelford, if he and you are still at Brussels.

I give you my hints as they occur to me. I think that whatever declaration shall be made by the allied powers, ought not to be oblique, relative to the concerns of the empire, &c., (though this may make one just cause of hostility,) but for the direct purpose of freeing the king and nation of France from the tyranny of an usurping faction. All indirect modes suggest a doubt of their cause. By the law of nations, when any country is divided, the other powers are free to take which side they please. For this, consult a very republican writer, Vattell. Besides, all the alliances with France are with the king, and suppose a monarchy the legal government of that country. Above all, they ought to be highly cautious how they acknowledge this "National Assembly," or call it by any other name than that part of the king's subjects who are in rebellion against him. The Emperor may likewise justly complain of the outrages offered to his sister. The whole may, and ought

to be, put upon popular ground. This will depend more on the expressions used than any thing else. Not one prerogative of the prince, not one distinction of the nobility, no one right of the clergy, no one principle of military subordination, that may not have a popular air given to it. The manifesto ought to be very cautious of *specific* engagements; but it ought to be distinct in disclaiming despotism, and any government but one under a monarchy acting by fixed law.

I am almost sorry I have troubled you with any thing; for I don't know the map of their situation. Have they any intelligences with any of the majority of the assembly, or any of the leaders of the clubs? And is there any spirit in those who are disaffected to the present ruling power? And, if spirit, whether any numbers? I hear that, in this last respect, things are better than I thought. May God, of his infinite mercy, preserve you, and render you useful to all sort of good causes. Your mother is as you left her, and wants nothing but her son. Cuppage[9] is here; we expect Lord Inchiquin to morrow. O, I forgot!—there are two descendants of De la Moignon, the famous law name. They are pleasing young men. The Marquis de Duras too; pray remember me to

[9] The late General William Cuppage, of the R. A., a relation of Mr. William Burke, and an attached friend of the Burke family.

them. I think you will see Aix-la-Chapelle; it lies in your way. Pray present my affectionate respects to your bishop. Why should you not still see him at[1] * * * * *? Spa is not twenty miles from it. You will see it at your return, and not before. Lord Conyngham is a very good young man.

Ever ever your truly affectionate and grateful father,

EDM. BURKE.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Brighton, August 5, 1791.

SIR,

I have received with great pleasure your last publication[2], which, as it professed to be sent by the author, I determined to read through with the utmost attention, that I might afterwards proportion my thanks to the value of the present. I have done so, and am ready to declare my perfect concurrence in every part of the argument from the beginning to the end; and return you my sincerest and my warmest thanks for presenting me with so valuable a performance; though, perhaps,

[1] The name cannot be made out in the original.

[2] "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," published in Volume VI. of the Works, octavo edition. It appeared in July, 1791.

my acknowledgment of its merit may lose some part of its grace, by my being an interested party, as I am, in the success of the doctrine. The commendation of one convert (and I have no doubt there will be many,) would be a stronger testimony of its value, than the applause of hundreds that needed no conviction; yet even to them it will be of infinite use. I, for instance, like many others, have always thought myself an old whig, and held the same principles with yourself; but I suppose none, or very few of us, ever thought upon the subject with so much correctness; and hardly any would be able to express their thoughts with such clearness, justness, and force of argument. I am, therefore, as well as them, better instructed how to instruct others than I was before.

There is only one passage in your book that gives me the least concern; and that is, where you talk of retiring from public business. For though, as a member of the administration, I might be well enough pleased at the opposition's losing one of its ablest assistants, yet I shall be sorry to see the parliament deprived of so strenuous an advocate for the constitution.

As an old whig, therefore, and not as a minister, give me leave to subscribe myself,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

CAMDEN.

SIR WILLIAM SCOTT TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Commons, August 6, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Give me leave to use an early opportunity of paying the tribute of gratitude for the exquisite satisfaction I have received in the perusal of a late pamphlet[3]. I beg to assure you that, amongst those with whom I converse, I have not heard a dissentient voice about the value of the obligation the author of that pamphlet has conferred upon the public. Every man is eager to acknowledge, that questions of the utmost importance are treated with a purity, as well as a justness of thinking, and a beauty of imagination and style, that are peculiar to the author of that work. If I can at all trust my own judgment, and, what is more, my own attention to what is said in the world, no pamphlet is likely to produce greater unanimity of opinion in favour of its contents. And though the satisfaction of knowing this is a very inadequate reward, yet I conceive it cannot but be a highly acceptable one to the person who, having composed the work upon the gravest considerations of public interest, must be happy to find,

[3] The "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

that the only principles by which that interest can be supported, are likely, by the success of his efforts, to take a firm root in the conviction and conduct of mankind.

I am, my dear sir, with the most cordial esteem and admiration,

Your faithful and most obedient,

WILLIAM SCOTT.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

August 9, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

We write from Hippisley's[4], where, with Lord Inchiquin, we all dine. Here I learn that Major Rawdon goes to Ostend this night. I might have sent by him the letters I wished you to see; but now I cannot go back in time to make up the packet. You must, therefore, take this as it is. We have not heard of you from Brussels, though I think we might. We have now cool and pleasant weather, but we have had some close sultry days. I trust they have not met you on the road; or if they have, that in such heats you have not made great pushes to get forward. I have had

[4] Probably Mr., afterwards Sir John Cox Hippisley, then M.P. for Sudbury.

this day from the Bishop of Salisbury an approbation from his majesty of my last publication[5]. But I had before, from Jack King, an account much more full upon the subject, from Dundas. From Lord Camden I have received a very flattering letter. I have no sort of doubt of the dispositions of this court. How far they will go *actively* to serve that cause, I know not. I think you have their most cordial good wishes. I have written *you* inadvertently; but I consider the cause as yours, as indeed it is mine, and that of all mankind. They ought not, to be sure, to act precipitately; but every instant gives the rebellious usurpers time for preparation, which it seems they are making; and they who possess a government such as that of France, with the worst and least exertion of the natural force of the country, are formidable. Oh, let those who would restore the good in that country, be careful how they despise their enemy! This has been at all times the ruin of France. Never did an attempt require more a sort of conduct out of the common routine, or more belonging to the specific occasion. I have written to you twice, and I will write again; and then I shall probably speculate more. But I first wait to hear from you. They ought to promise as little, except generalities, as

[5] "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

possible. Few are gained by it; and great dishonour happens from the breach of promises, and not much good comes from making them. The present rulers do not seem to me to have authority enough to enable them to make or keep a counter engagement. But I may be mistaken. Above all, let them not make such engagements as may disable them from laying broad and stable foundations, in interest and opinion, for their crown; above all, not to engage for any reducing the clergy to pension, or confirming that confiscation. I mention this, because I well know that this is a seductive trait for all descriptions. But they may be assured that such a mass of property cannot be dispersed as it has been, without leaving the monarchy and aristocracy nothing upon which they *can* stand. It will not be easy to make them understand this, but nothing can be more certain. They who can dispose or hold such a confiscation, must be masters of the country. All well, your uncle and all. May the Almighty protect you!

Your ever affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

I forgot to tell you that Lord Fitzwilliam, in a large public company, has declared his approbation of our book on French affairs, in the whole and every part.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

August 10, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I wrote yesterday from Hippisley's; but I find Major Rawdon, (Lord Rawdon's brother,) who very obligingly offered to take that letter, is not gone yet. So I take advantage of his delay to write again, and to send you a large packet of such letters as I received here, that you will most wish to see. They will let you into the state of the adventure we had in hand at your departure [6], and I need add little to them. They let you into the course that criticism has hitherto taken; as to the rest, the first edition is very nearly sold, and another is in the press. In comparison of the first, the sale is not large nor rapid; but, as compared with any thing else, we have no reason to complain.

We received this morning what made our breakfast very pleasant, your Friday's letter from Brussels; having before had yours from Ostend. We wait with impatience for that you intend for me, and which you propose to be more full. We move to

[6] The work mentioned in the preceding note.

town to-morrow, please God, but will wait the coming in of the post, for the chance of receiving it before we go.

Lord Stormont came hither yesterday. I had a long conversation with him. It is impossible to detail to you the whole of it; but I perceive by the general style and tenor of it, that the party is incurable, for they will not allow that there is any sort of disease in it, except the difference between Fox and me, owing to our mutual imprudence, in bringing up a matter which ought never to be agitated. He thinks I can plainly perceive that the sole danger consists in having the question of the danger discussed. He is of opinion that Fox, so far from countenancing the mischievous doctrines I complain of, has given a very unexceptionable creed. Though present at the debate, he cannot think that he condemned my book *in toto;* that, in conversation, when that book was the subject of any discourse, as the several parts were commended, (and they were all commended,) he fell in without any difficulty. He is sure, in particular, that he agrees with me in what I say of the confiscation of church-property. In short, he does not really know in what we differ. That Fox is too sensible to wish the destruction of the constitution, &c. &c.; and as for the rest of the party, he has not seen one person who approves of the doctrines of Paine, or any thing like them; and

that they seem all (as he himself is) of my mind. You may guess in what manner I answered him. I spoke with great temper but great steadiness, about the danger, the propriety of stating it, and what I thought the best method of resisting it. That I believed as he did, that inwardly, even Fox did not differ from me materially, if at all; and that I was sure the rest, for the greater number, heartily agreed and without any limitation. The misfortune was, that so many good and weighty men, thinking the same way, should, upon grounds of mistaken prudence, suffer themselves to be added to the weight of a scale to which they did not belong. Lord Stormont was of opinion, that I should hurt the cause of the *aristocrates* in France, by representing a great party as adverse to them, when in reality it was not. I said I could not help it. The speeches of the leaders, the papers which they encourage, (four out of the thirteen daily published,) every external demonstration, lead directly to that conclusion. It was my justification for the step I had taken, in considering myself as separated from the party. As for them, if they thought it was an imputation on them to appear rather followers of Paine, Freteau, and Bouche, than of their own whig ancestors, they knew the way of getting rid of it completely; but that all my endeavours towards getting them to disclaim such doctors and doc-

trines, had hitherto proved fruitless. He said, he was sure that their conduct wholly arose from the fear of showing that there were divisions amongst them. I was sorry for this apprehension, for though they had compassed their object, and did show there were no divisions, the sort of unanimity produced was a supposed common adherence to sentiments odious to the best of them. You see by Laurence's letter, that Lord Fitzwilliam does all he can to set things to rights on his part, so far as private conversation goes.

Adieu! my ever dearest, your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Brussels, August, 1791.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I intended a letter to you by the last post, but the various occupations, both of business and civility, have prevented till now. I have made upon the whole tolerable use of my time, and have as yet no reason to repent my journey, or to think it will be wholly useless. The first thing I did was to get myself introduced to the marquis de la Quenille, who is the confidential person here. Madame

Calonne had related our conversation to him, so that we had no difficulty in entering upon the business. He opened himself to me in the fullest and most explicit manner. With regard to the foreign succours, every thing that we heard, as to assurance, is confirmed, with this addition,—that the Emperor increases his quota to seventy on the German side. I do not find, however, that any thing is in motion, except that the emperor has applied to the elector palatine for leave to pass. He showed me an extract of a letter from Leopold, in which he says he is determined to begin; and adds, "Il faut que les grosses cloches sonnent, les petites sonneront après." The conclusions of the diet were made on the fifth. They there take up the cause upon general grounds, and not merely relatively to the claims of the German princes. With regard to the other powers, I do not find that any thing new has happened, either to weaken or to corroborate expectations. It is proposed to make a general alliance of all the powers concerned, avowedly for the restoration of the French monarch, and the treaty is to be public. I should be glad to know your opinion on the subject. It seems to be liable to some exception, as bringing the cause of royalty too much forward, and making it too principal. This may appear odious, and ought at least to be guarded against, by placing the proceedings upon such grounds as

comprehend the rights of subjects, and the general questions of religion and government. These surely ought to take the most prominent features. There is another point also, on which I wish to have your opinion. It is a question whether the manifesto of the princes, and the declaration of the crowned heads, ought to be immediately published, or whether they ought to wait for the movement of the irruption. The *pro* is, that it pledges the different powers; the *con*, that if the blow does not immediately or soon follow, the effect will be perfectly ridiculous. I think, on the whole, the *cons* have it, for there are many considerations on that side. The empress of Russia seems to be the most cordial and zealous in her expressions of good will and assurances of assistance if necessary. What does this mean? Or is it in earnest? I do not suppose there is any mystery; it seems as if every power in Europe entered heartily into the cause except ourselves.

With regard to England, I have discovered the cause of Calonne's extreme distrust; and that of the French in general. A person whose name I cannot mention at present, and who certainly knew the truth, told them, though falsely, that our court strenuously opposed them at Vienna. I find that if Calonne had stayed one day longer, he might have hoped a more favourable answer; but that, he could not possibly know. It was the arrival of

the Emperor's declaration of his own determined intentions, and the request of favour and support from us. Our ambassador at Madrid disclaimed the intention of an interference to the right or left, and assured them of a full approbation of the principle of their proceeding. At Berlin, to the same effect, but something more cold. But at Ratisbon, on the contrary. The Hanoverian commissioner said that his master's dominions were not affected; and as I understand, refused his contingent. What does this mean? Does the king still continue to make a separate affair of Hanover? if so, try how he is to be got at; for surely this is the way in which he might most easily, and at the least risk and expense, make his dispositions known and effective.

With regard to the French themselves, (of this place,) there are some things about them which I wish were altered. They do not mix, hardly in the smallest degree, with any persons of this country of any rank. This is unfortunate, as it does not give their principles fair play; they cannot recommend themselves, nor raise an interest in their favour, nor be of the least use in the politics of the country, so as to make them instrumental to their own. Nor do they herd much together. Another misfortune is, as spirit kindles, no joint interest arises in their different degrees; they do not become acquainted with each others' faculties and

characters,—all necessary things, both for present and future. As the other side, it is impossible to be more tractable and docile, or apparently better disposed; nothing of the spirit of emigrants; no systems, no desire of excessive liberty, or absolute power. I have now seen most of them, and as subject matter, I do not think any thing can be better; no philosophy, which is quite out of fashion; but on all points, political and religious, a sober, rational, practical way of thinking. There is but one man in the secret confidence and management, that is M. de la Quenille. He seems to be perfectly sound-headed, perfectly right in all his ideas. He was somewhat an older intimate of the king's infancy, which has subsisted in a close friendship ever since. He praises him in every respect, except that of adherence to his resolutions, which he says are always right on all points. He tells me the poor man has translated your book from end to end. I mentioned your idea of sending a slip of paper with a few heartening words. Whole letters can be conveyed. He seems very desirous that I should write, which I have done; enlarging upon, and impressing the substance of your idea. Is this right, discreet, &c. &c.? No time was to be lost. He told me he was actually beginning to yield, and that any change of reviving courage was an effectual service. It is determined that I am to go to Coblentz forthwith. I shall set out to-morrow. I have seen

the legal people here, and had a long conference yesterday, on your idea of re-establishing the reputation of the tribunals. They were cold and dead at first, but in the end came round heartily to my idea, which I think will be executed. It is for the several parliaments to enter the lists with the National Assembly, with as much vigour as they used to do with the king; to set their enemies at defiance, call for proof, and furnish the world with a succinct account of their judicial constitution. I will own, that I think my arrival has a little animated things here; it is a new ingredient assisting fermentation. As to myself, what am I to tell you? I do not believe Monsieur was received with more cordiality, more tenderness, more respect. They all call you their consolation, their hope, their teacher. This I received from individuals; but when I went to Mons. de la Quenille's by his desire, after dinner on Saturday, (he has a kind of general *levée*,) to my surprise I found a circle made around me, and he addressed me, "Vous voyez bien, Monsieur, l'empressement de ces Messieurs à vous témoigner combien tous les bons François doivent à votre illustre père." After this I was obliged to do the honours; but this is not all. The six gentlemen who preside over the *noblesse* here, came to me yesterday in solemn deputation, with the paper[7] of which the inclosed is

[7] It will be given in the Appendix, with the answer.

a copy. Perhaps I have not done right to accept their honours; but I think it cannot do harm. I will send by this, or the next post, my answer; which having notice, I was obliged to make. You will do right to write your thanks.

Having done with myself, I return to business. I told you I wrote a letter; you will see it on my return. I have not time to copy, and only can say it was perfectly to the satisfaction of my friend. One of the principal difficulties of this business consists in the state of the country in which I write. As you gave the idea of what was to be done, or rather, determined, you must attend to the consequence, and when you see the ministers, advise with them upon it. The truth is, they are afraid to stir any of the troops from hence, from a suspicion of the people; and according to me, their numbers make part of the danger, (they have fifty and will soon have eighty thousand,) because they are more difficult to satisfy, more liable to give offence, and induce a false and insolent reliance on them, to the neglect and contempt of more important matters. There happened, the other day, a fray at Ghent. Several of the citizens were killed. The soldiers were in the wrong, and they are discontented that the people are not punished. Now, as to the state of things here. This new minister is just come. In M. de Mercy's time the Von-

kists[8] were entirely favoured, because they were the first to submit. I am told, the only point in dispute between the government and the states now is, relative to the counsellors the Emperor had imposed upon the states. The states propose very handsomely to pension them, if they will retire; this the court will not suffer. Can any thing be more reasonable? After all that has happened, surely the people have a right to be a little suspicious, and all possible assurance ought to be given them for the conservation of their privileges; which, indeed, ought to be created, if they did not exist. It is said that nine out of ten are patriots, which is certainly the true constitutional party; and true policy would require that they should be made the strongest, if they were not so already. But why do I say all these things to you? Try if any thing can be done. Gardiner, who is here, I believe is but a man of straw; but as I dine with him to-day, I may form a better notion. Nothing is more essential, both to our business, and to the state of Europe, than that this government should be settled on solid and rational principles. It is restored monarchy on its good behaviour. Perhaps they might order Gardiner to consult with me; perhaps I might also insinuate myself into

[8] The democratic party in Belgium, so called from its founder, a lawyer of Brussels.

the counsels of the government of this place, and try to mediate between the parties, that is, the court and the states, for nothing is to be made of the Vonkists. I have now, I think, emptied my budget. Have you heard of the singular circumstance of M. de Fitzjames returning from Rome, and, in the moment of disappointment at the king's re-capture, finding his regiment come over, men and officers? They met him near the place where Turenne fell, and just one hundred years after the adherence of the same regiment to king James. They have put on their colours,—"1691, *Toujours et par-tout fidèle*, 1791." I send you the letters inclosed. M. de Cicé will furnish you with the answers to the queries. Your letter to Rivarol has been seen by a number of persons. My friend sees the politics of Flanders just as I do. I have just received my letters, and thank you heartily for yours.

The perpetual conversation on French affairs, makes me think I am at home. It is the subject which has occupied our thoughts, hopes, and fears, for a long time. I certainly do not look or act like an impostor; for I am received here into no unimportant trust, without any living creature to answer that I am your son, but my assertion. I was so before I had seen the Bintinnayes. I have employed the abbé of that name to translate the appeal. He is capable, for it is he (this is a secret) who wrote the declaration. I send

it you for the sake of the postscript. I may say that I have felt true happiness since my arrival here.

Yours,
R. B.

N.B. You are not to speak of any one fact mentioned in my letters to any but the ministers. You are not to mention any facts, unless you see particular occasion, until you hear from me from Coblentz. I find the Hanoverian envoy has since agreed to furnish his contingent. The fluctuations in his conduct proceed in all probability from the court of Berlin, which is that on which they can least depend, and whose dispositions are most uncertain. This I always conjectured. That is an evil which only our court can remedy. Pretty good intelligences, and on a pretty good system, are established within this kingdom. What I said of the diet, I was mistaken in; but it is true with regard to the other powers. A quintuple alliance, the treaty consisting of twenty-five articles, with liberty for any other power to enter into it, was concluded on the 19th of May, for the purpose of securing the territories and constitutions of all the kingdoms and republics of Europe, from internal and external violence, in the exact state they are in at present, and nomination of the monarchy of France. If this is not spoken of, you will not mention it.

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Hague, August 12, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter by Mr. Kelly gave me that pleasurable sensation which naturally results to the mind, from the sudden recall of interrupted habits and old affections. I was happy to see your hand-writing, and to receive a commission from you. The commission, indeed, happened to be in itself agreeable, but if it had been otherwise, I should have executed it with alacrity. Mr. Kelly, in his first visit, passed only a part of a day at the Hague, and in that crowded style of society to which my house is necessarily subject. But so far as I could observe, he fully merits the opinion which you bespeak for him; and he promised, on his return from Amsterdam, to give me frequent and full opportunities of marking my attention to him. This was more than a fortnight ago, and I begin to apprehend that he has directed his route to places on the continent more amusing than the Hague happens to be at this season, and during the absence of the prince and princess of Orange.

Allow me to use this occasion to express the

gratitude which, as a member of civil society, and a father of nine children, I owe to you for the tendency and effect of your late admirable publications. Perhaps it has been my fate, more than that of any individual now living, to have had opportunities in the course of the last twenty years to see the interior of many great governments of very varied descriptions. All that I have seen, and all the reflections of my mind, concur to make me look with horror on every thing that has happened in France during the last two years; and that horror is not less, when I look forward to the numberless calamities which must take place before any permanent system of order can be re-established.

It is certain that a reform was loudly called for to correct a ruined system of finance, and the blind extravagance and follies of the princes, and the courtiers; but it was evident from the first, that the measure adopted for that purpose, by the weak and well-meaning king, surrounded by selfish intriguers, and pushed forwards by absurd speculatists and theorists, would soon hurry both him and his people far beyond their depth. How either the one or the other will emerge from the vortex, I am unable to conjecture. With respect to the latter, I do not deny, that both the principles and the practice of the old *régime* were in many points harsh and tyrannical,

and that a change was eligible, so far as might be consistent with the good ordering of a nation, to which, from its characteristic levity and presumption, a strong government is certainly necessary.

At present it seems not improbable, that some foreign powers will attempt to interfere; the pacific result of the negotiations at Petersburg and at Sistova, will at least, to a certain degree, leave all Europe at liberty to turn its attention towards France. In the meantime, unwearied and incessant exertions are used by the pestiferous society of the *Propagande*, (of whose establishment, principles, instructions, and operations, I possess full evidence,) to extend confusion to every existing government. The disorder, however, does not appear to spread itself in England, and your work has furnished every possible antidote and preservation against its progress among our countrymen.

Lady Auckland desires me to present her compliments to you.

Believe me, my dear sir,
Ever most sincerely yours,
AUCKLAND.

LORD CHARLEMONT TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Bath, August 13, 1791.

MY DEAREST BURKE,

Accept my most sincere, my warmest acknowledgments, for your more than kind letter, which has in the highest degree flattered both my heart and my pride, as an undoubted evidence of your unaltered friendship; and as, by placing me upon an equal footing of correspondence, it exalts me in your partial idea to a level with those incomparable men, the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam. You express some doubt with regard to the perfect coincidence of our political sentiments, upon a late important occasion, and your doubts are not entirely void of foundation. Though I admire you as the first of writers, though I love you as the best of men, though there be not a word, even in your first pamphlet, which does not, if possible, increase my admiration for your genius, and my love for your heart, still I must confess that my feelings and prepossessions, will not allow me to coincide in all your opinions. But what of that? Is an affection founded upon the firm basis of perfect esteem, and nourished by the unvarying influence of every social quality

which can endear man to man, to be lessened by a difference of opinion? Surely not. Besides, in some of the most essential points, we do not greatly differ. With you I despise the French philosophy. With you, I disapprove many of the proceedings of the National Assembly. With you, I abominate the brutal excesses of a ferocious though, perhaps, justly enraged people. With you, I deprecate the contagion of French example in a country circumstanced like ours; and with you, I love and venerate the British constitution, though I think that in some instances it may, and ought to be reformed, according to its genuine spirit. But while I lament the miseries too frequently attendant even upon well-conducted revolution, I cannot but rejoice that so large a portion of my fellow-creatures have, at any rate short of destruction, been emancipated from a tyranny, grievous indeed, and which, spite of the boasted, though, as I have always thought, superficial and unreal suavity of manners, was the more oppressive, as by the unchecked despotism of a wide-spread nobility, it was brought even to the door of every individual.

Thus much have I said, because thus much I could not help saying, since, in writing to a dear friend, the uppermost thoughts of my heart must and will have vent. And now, adieu to

politics, which I begin to hate from a late fatal effect they have produced, in disuniting two men who—but, no more!

I am here tied down to this disagreeable place, by a most agreeable cause,—the good effects which the waters have now at length began to produce upon my daughter, whose ill-state of health brought us hither. When we shall be released I know not; but be assured I wish for London, principally because I wish to see you, and, on that account, with much concern contemplate the shortness of time we shall probably have to spend there. To take advice on my daughter's case is our only business; but if a moment can be found for pleasure, it will be best procured at Beaconsfield.

Lady Charlemont desires her most affectionate compliments to you, and joins with me in every sincere good wish for Mrs. Burke's perfect recovery. All our best compliments attend that lady, your son, and your brother.

Farewell, my dearest Burke. Believe me ever unalterably, with the most perfect love and esteem,

Your most faithful and truly affectionate friend,

CHARLEMONT.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

London, August 16, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I write merely that the post should not go out without something to you. I have written a letter full of various thoughts, which I have not yet finished, nor can to my mind, until I see your intended correspondent (Dundas). I hear things which make me doubtful and anxious, though not afraid, absolutely. Half an hour's conversation might set all to rights, or confirm what I have heard from a quarter which I can neither wholly rely upon or entirely distrust. At any rate, I wish you, until you hear from me, to be cautious in communicating any thing confidential, at least without the express desire of those from whom you receive it. A little delay can do no harm.

I send you the letters which came hither, they will cost you something, but they may be necessary to you. I send you what I received from my Paris correspondent. I believe his fears are not without foundation. Certainly the friends

to the monarchy, and to the subsistence of the present states of Europe, will take no notice of the intrigues, or acts of an imprisoned prince or queen. But infinite mischiefs will happen from their yielding to their own weakness or to perfidious counsels. It is certain that they mean to set them at a complete nominal liberty, and then to offer their constitution, now finished, to their acceptance and oath. All the parts had been before accepted, and sworn to in detail, but here the apparent freedom is to give validity to the acceptance and to fix the perjury. The great difficulty is in that quarter. They certainly, one of them at least, fear the deliverers more than the gaolers. The dread of not exercising an influence operates so much, that I suspect the party would rather exercise it in prison, with some certainty, than run the risk of its being lessened in the government of a kingdom. As to the other objects, it is not to be expected that she should elevate her mind to them. Of this I am most grievously afraid; afraid that the war in favour of monarchy, must be against the monarch as well as against the rebels. Have they no way of convincing this unhappy and illustrious person, (surely the Emperor ought positively to signify to her to leave off all cabal,) that she can only be destroyed by the activity of her own intrigues,

and that her only policy is silence, patience, and refusal?

Joe Hickey is come over. He left Paris on Saturday night, and was here on Tuesday morning six o'clock. He confirms what I before heard of the confusion and dismay of the domineering party, and of the prodigious number of those who hate and despise them, and of the daily increase of their numbers. Good God! is all this, and all the great efforts, to be reduced to nothing by little silly cabals, and absurd hopes from the kindness of enemies! He says the prevalent opinion is that the king will accept. God knows how this is, but a dark cloud hangs upon every thing. As the rebels say they will declare a regency if the king refuses to accept, surely the virtuous citizens ought to declare a regency if he does. After his declaration and his imprisonment, the subsequent even more than the precedent, and their detaining his child, it is quite a farce to talk of his liberty. In truth, it is an insult to the understanding of mankind.

The appeal[9] very well received by the public; approved by the king, through the Bishop of Salisbury. Our friends a good deal vexed, as I hear. A third edition is preparing. I don't know what to do about my Paris friend, who

[9] "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

will wish to translate. As to your abbé [1], I cannot make out his name in your writing. My blessing, and may all blessings attend you.

Your ever affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

I have made some alterations for the better in the third edition.

RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Coblentz, August 16, 1791.

MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,

My letters from Juliers will inform you that my journey, though hitherto very sure, had also been very slow. As for expedition during the remainder of it, I have had no great things to boast of. That night we got no further than Bonn; and though we arrived there by five in the evening of Friday, there was no horse to be had before Saturday morning. The rest of our journey continued prosperous enough, and we got to Coblentz at three. But whatever vexation I had felt from the various delays, was fully revived by finding that M. de Calonne, the only object of my voyage, was gone that very morning. So that if

[1] The Abbé de la Bintinnaye. Vide p. 245.

I could have saved even half a day, I should have avoided that mortification. The time I stayed at Brussells, I did not consider as entirely lost, and, therefore, I did not so much regret it, for certainly it would not have been easy for me to do more there, or to get away sooner than I did. However, missing my man, my only introduction here, and the justification of my intrusion at Brussells, I was to make the best of it. I accordingly went to Madame de Calonne, whom I found in some measure apprised of the object of my journey; we agreed that the Abbé de Calonne, brother of our friend, should carry me the next day to the castle. Monsieur is lodged at the Elector's country-house, about a mile and a half from hence, and which the Elector[2] has given up to him and his train. There I was introduced to M. de Vaudreuil, one of a sort of ostensible administration they have here, for I find the substance of business is transacted between our friend and the two princes. That my journey might not be entirely fruitless, and even ridiculous, I told him I had come with invitation of M. de Calonne. I found that he knew in general what passed at Margate, but wished me to see Monsieur; which I readily complied with, and I had an immediate audience. I need hardly

[2] Clement Wenceslaus, Elector of Treves; a member of the electoral house of Saxony.

tell you that my reception was all that civility could add to the expression of gratitude for your labours; he asked me if you were disposed to accept the proposition Calonne made to you. I answered, that as you and they were acting in the same cause, it might perhaps be for your mutual advantage that confidential communication should be established between you; and that, for that purpose, it would be advisable that they should have an agent in England, the necessity of which, for their interests, you had long felt. To this he assented; and then said, "We must think of somebody to be *auprès de M. Burke.*" He mentioned a Mr. Montin, whom you remember in England at the conclusion of the peace, or rather, of the war. He then told me, he wished the Bishop of Arras to talk over these affairs in general with me. I am to tell you, with regard to the agent, it had been in a manner agreed between M. de la Quenille and me, at Brussells, that the Chev. de la Bintinnaye should be the man, whom I believe is sufficiently capable, and whom you will find very docile. He will take one, if not two, of his brothers with him. The next day the Bishop of Arras, I suppose, apprised of our previous deliberation, asked me if I preferred any other person. I immediately mentioned the chevalier, whom I am to mention to-day to Monsieur; and the proposition will cer-

tainly be complied with, as he said the person most agreeable to you will certainly be chosen. So you will have the little chevalier with you in a few days to transact the business of the princes, as agent, and provisionally provided with proper credentials, in case our court should be in a disposition at any favourable moment to receive him.

I have taken as well as I could do in so short time, and in the absence of our friend, a pretty general view of these affairs. My judgment, upon the whole (this is between ourselves), is, that without a little impulse, they will not do. That impulse must come from us; that is the general opinion here. To effect this will be the great object, though of some difficulty; especially considering the season of the year, the distance of places, and the tediousness of negotiation. However, it may not be necessary. I find them much more diffident in their expectations, than I imagined. The assurances continue uncontradicted and unabated; but the reason of their diffidence is, partly because effects do not follow, and partly because many of the persons who nearly approach the two courts of Vienna and Berlin, are continually saying they are not to have any assistance. This is the discourse held at the court of Brussells. But it is very probable that this language is only the artifice of

their enemies, for they feel themselves powerfully traversed in both courts; but the assurances of the sovereigns themselves are so strong, that I see no reason to doubt. M. de Calonne is gone with the Comte d'Artois. They expect to fall in with an interview, which is to take place somewhere near Dresden, between the Emperor and the king of Prussia; and the object of their mission is to know definitively the resolution of these two potentates. The purpose of the interview itself is probably relative to the affairs of Poland and Turkey, as well as those of France. Calonne and the Comte have judged well in taking this opportunity. They were strongly instigated to it by pressing requests from Paris, to know if any succour was really to be expected; as otherwise, they should be obliged to yield, and listen to terms. A very good piece of intelligence is just arrived; it comes circuitously through the elector of Mentz;—the answer of our court to the Emperor's declaration, which I mentioned in my last to have reached England just after Calonne's departure. The declaration itself is perfectly right. The answer is, that his majesty will observe an exact neutrality, and is accompanied with general expression of kindness and good-will. This, however, accords but ill with the conduct of the Hanoverian envoy at the diet. I was wrong in telling you he had surceased his

opposition; on the contrary, it was continued to the last, with great eagerness and apparent asperity; and he has, I understand, concluded with a kind of verbal protest against the whole proceeding. Now I mention this, I will just suggest, whether, through the Duke of Gloucester, or any other channel you may think advisable, something may not be done to get at the bottom of this. Some explanation may be got, or something done, to satisfy the other courts, with regard to the ambiguity of this proceeding; for I am to tell you, that the uncertainty concerning the disposition of England, has been hitherto considered the principal obstacle, preventing intentions from being turned into effects. It seems to me as if from some affection or bias to the innovating spirit, from some strange combination of ministerial interests, real or supposed, or from some no less extraordinary fatality, most, at least many of the persons in principal employments in the various cabinets, labour to prevent the restoration of the French monarchy. One of their arts seems to be, that of propagating in each court an opinion that every other court is indifferent or adverse. I cannot help thinking that our sovereign, some way or other, has not justice done to his interests or to his intentions by those employed in his Hanoverian affairs. Certainly, nothing can be better calculated to assist the

stratagem I have just mentioned, than what happened at the diet, and nothing in itself so inexplicable. If what I said of foreign courts in general is true, it is a very singular aggravation of the distemper of the time. It shows some very uncommon defect in capacity, or in fidelity, or in both, and the remedy for that particular symptom is not easy to find. It is a time when princes must depend upon themselves; perhaps they must always do so when things come to the push.

I am just returned from the electoral residence, where I dined, after having been presented to-day. He received me with every possible mark of attention, and made many compliments on you and your work; which I returned with as many on his conduct to his nephews, their cause, and their fellow-sufferers. It is, indeed, noble and kind, and well understood, in the highest degree. Besides his civilities to the two princes, he has provided a house for the *gardes du corps*, regulated the price of every thing for the French who are here, exempted them from all tolls, lends them horses and carriages, and, in short, conducts himself throughout as a man of a magnificent hospitality would to a relation, in a week's visit. And this, let me tell you, in a little German prince, on the very frontiers of France, is no small magnanimity. This bishop is brother to the elector of Saxony. The poor queen's sister at Brussells is frightened

out of her wits, and is afraid to see a French face.

I have written to M. de Calonne such ideas as occurred to me on the present state of things, together with those you suggested in your last letter. By the bye your last, or rather, only letter, I got by Lord Conyngham at Brussells. In that you make mention of another, and of one inclosed in it, from the Bishop of Salisbury, which you think might be of use. Nothing of either have I seen, nor any other except that by Lord Conyngham. You must look to this, and inquire whether the letter was put into the post. Observe, it is necessary to pay for all letters to Germany all the way; and perhaps it may be right to put "Coblentz, *viâ* Aix-la-Chapelle," although the residence of an elector ought to be well known.

You ask me about interior intelligence with the majority of the National Assembly. They have no more than is necessary to give them a perfect knowledge of all their proceedings in their committees, and a proof of their want of fidelity to each other. This is all they wish to know of them. I am assured there is not one disciplined regiment, nor one town in a condition to stand a siege, in all France. I thoroughly believe it. They have very good intelligences, though not very numerous, in the provinces, but sufficient, as should appear to me, to set the machine a going, and to give an

appearance of concert and union, if once an impression was made.

Write to me as soon as you can. I propose to wait in these environs till the return of the Comte d'Artois and M. de Calonne, and shall take this opportunity of seeing a little more of the Rhine. Frankfort fair is to be in a few days. Nothing is going forward in Calonne's absence. Le Prince de Condé came here last night, and returns to-morrow. He has invited me to go and see him at Worms. I have not yet had any conversation with him. If I find weather and all things answer, perhaps I may push as far as that. Write to me here. I will not trouble you with all the compliments I receive; they are sufficient. The banks of the Rhine are delightful just about here; not so fine as nearer Bonn; from thence hither it is a fine flowing lake all the way. Nagle [3] continues to like his journey. I have presented him at Monsieur's, but he could not go with me to the residence to-day, as his sprain or rather blow, strongly affected, and has made him lame again, in consequence of swimming in the water. We have had dreadful hot weather; it is now mitigated. My love to all.

[3] A relation of Mr. Burke. Subsequently to this period, he held an employment under the Secretary-at-War.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

August 16, 1791.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

Your mother and I had a satisfaction which none but a son like you could enter into, upon our finding on our return to town last night your letter from Brussels. I had no doubt your reception would be what at first it was, on your family account, and what afterwards it was, on your own.

I shall perfectly keep secret all that you have told me, *from all manner of persons*. I ought to be cautious of seeking the ministers upon this business, because they have made no advances whatsoever to me on the subject; no, not so much as to thank me for my pamphlet. It is plain to me, that whatsoever the reason may be, they make use of the greatest reserve upon the subject, and that the diplomatic people hear nothing from them, with regard to it, that is not very ambiguous. I am really afraid to converse with them, and my fears extend to you. I think, indeed, your situation to be as delicate as one's imagination can represent any thing. You have no confidence here, and no authority of any sort, except to communicate what you hear, with the assurance of some

general good wishes towards the cause you adhere to. If those you correspond with here did enter heartily into your scheme of politics, your communications might enable them to forward what you mutually propose. If, on the contrary, their politics should take a different turn, in giving intelligence to them, you are unknowingly acting as a spy upon those whom your whole soul is set upon serving. This would be a situation of all others the most horrid; that of betraying by being betrayed. It is not that I altogether distrust the dispositions of this administration; but the consequences of acting under those whose designs are uncertain, or who, in reality, may not be masters of their own designs, to my eyes, and will to yours, appear so perilous, that too many precautions cannot be used in your communications in any thing which relates to this court, either with the leaders of the French royalists or with this ministry. It is dangerous for you fully to trust those by whom you are not fully trusted; and, whilst you give to the worthy persecuted persons you converse with in all sincerity, your advice, to the best of the faculties God has dispensed to you, you will take care how you excite in their minds any hopes, which neither you nor I have any probable prospect to see realized. My apprehensions are somewhat roused by a discourse I have had related to me from the Russian

ambassador. He says (supposing my author right) that his court is perfectly well-disposed to the king of France, but that the king of Prussia's disposition, and those of his ministers, both at Berlin and at foreign courts, is very equivocal, to say the best of it: That he prevents the conclusion of the peace, and the relief intended by other powers, and that our court does not sway that of Prussia, but the contrary,—whatever appearances may be: That Mr. Pitt is secretly in the democratic interest, or, at least, wishes it to exist, in order to make it, in some way or other, subservient to his designs; and that for that end, he keeps up the present armament, when the apparent objects for which he armed no longer exist: That M. de Calonne lately made a very indiscreet visit here; and, without Mr. Pitt's having given him any other encouragement than that of civil language, and of very general assurances, he laid himself perfectly open to him, and communicated to him every part of the measures taken or proposed, on the part of the exiled princes, and on that of the powers who were willing to engage in their favour: That Mr. Pitt has kept Hugh Elliot from his court, where his presence might at this season be of the greatest moment; that he is a declared democrat (this I know to be true), and has been sent confidentially to Paris, where he has conversed with Barnave, &c. &c. &c.

I allow, in this account, for something that may be overcharged from the ill-humour of the Russian minister at this time; still, however, it tallies too much with appearances to be entirely overlooked. There is a little, busy, meddling man, little heard of till lately,—a Mr. Ewart, who has married, I am told, a Prussian. He had found the means of ingratiating himself with the late minister, Hertsberg, by verbal and practical flatteries; and is likely to do the same with his successor. He is said to avail himself, with each of the courts, of his influence with the others; and by his mutually playing their games, or rather his own, to obtain ribbons, pensions, titles, and other rewards, according to the fashion of this diplomatic season. I have reason to believe, that the fear of the French faction here begins to wear out of the minds of ministers; and, as it does, they grow more indifferent about its prevalence elsewhere. Perhaps they are not sorry for its progress in other parts, as it may tend to keep other powers in fear for their own safety, and mutually embroiled with each other. This is, indeed, a very vulgar and very false policy; but its vulgarity gives it an easy reception. I have been long persuaded, that those in power here, instead of governing their ministers at foreign courts, are entirely swayed by them. That corps has no one point of manly policy in their whole system; they are a corps of intriguers, who, sooner or later, will turn our offices into an

academy of cabal and confusion. The single point upon which all our policy in this business turns, is, whether, if the French can establish their scheme, so as to give it any kind of firmness and duration, we can rationally expect to preserve our constitution and domestic tranquillity for any considerable length of time? *Our* minds are made up on this question; *theirs* seem to be governed by the humours of the people here, and their complexion at every period, and are, therefore, constantly varying. This gives, occasionally, a great advantage to those who make the Russian objects not, what they ought to be, *secondary* to this great scheme of European policy,—that of preserving things in their actual condition,—but *principal*. The king of Prussia certainly has objects, of which he will not readily lose sight. I do not suspect that our court will directly go to war with any power whatsoever, to enable him to accomplish his designs; but what I apprehend is, that they will think, that by keeping themselves in a state of ambiguous neutrality, neither distinctly encouraging, nor directly declaring against the activity of other powers, they may be able to give the law to those sovereigns, when they are so implicated in this business as to find it impossible to retreat; and thus to compass the king of Prussia's objects, without formally involving themselves in a war. I am not without a suspicion of

something of this sort; I cannot conceive for what other purpose the armament is kept up. It cannot influence the Russian treaty, or the congress of Sistova; because it is plain that this year it cannot go into the Baltic, and where else is it to act? It certainly is not meant to *assist* the powers who are allied for the support of the monarchies and republics of Europe, against the system of universal sedition professed in France. I cannot believe that it is designed against them. I can, therefore, divine no other reason for its being kept in force, but in order to watch events; and to act even in favour of the French usurpation, if collateral objects might be compassed by it. Yet when I consider the known disposition of the king and the prince,—the clear interest of the monarchy,—the joy expressed by the ministers, in common with that of all honest men, at the king of France's escape,—and their confusion and consternation on his being apprehended,—I can hardly persuade myself, that, for a town or two to be obtained by the king of Prussia, they will hazard the very being of every state of Europe, our own included. However, I am sure that the whole of the appearances are so uncertain, that from a regard to your honour, and the fidelity you will wish to preserve to the great trust that is reposed in you, until some authentic declaration is made of an amicable neutrality, or till you hear from

me, you will be cautious what you communicate to office here; and that you will, indeed, communicate nothing *without the previous consent of the parties interested;* professing your opinion of the *possibility* of this court not being cordially with them. All this, however, must be subject to your discretion in some degree. Your caution is not to defeat the object which you had in your journey, and which you have so near your heart; which I earnestly pray you may keep near to it, as long as events shall render such an attachment consistent with the state of the world. This league is for the preservation of that state of things in Europe, to which we owe all that we are, and which furnished just grounds of expectation for further and safe improvement. The foundation of this league is just and honest. But if it must go, we must not struggle with the order of Providence, nor contrive our matters so ill, that, as Cicero says, whilst we are struggling to be in the republic of Plato, we may find ourselves in no republic at all.

I perfectly agree with you, that the manifesto ought to accompany the act, or at least to precede it but a little. Perhaps some movements ought to precede the manifesto,—such as that of the king of Sweden to his minister, which I think to be exceedingly well done, and to be not at all ill-timed. The manifesto certainly ought, as you

observe, to turn much more upon the benefit of the people; on good order, religion, morality, security, and property, than upon the rights of sovereigns. Previous to it, or along with it, ought to be published, strong collections of cases and facts of the cruelties, persecutions, and desolations produced by this revolution, in a popular style; which, for being simple and popular, will not be the less eloquent and impressive. In stating the treatment of the ecclesiastics who have suffered most, as many[4] particulars of their indigence, by reduction, slack or non-payment, or the like, ought to be brought forth. Particulars make impressions. This may be cooked up a hundred different ways. Imprisonments under the new, ought to be compared with those under the old regimen, &c. &c. For a plan of the manifesto, quere?—Whether it might not be necessary to begin by stating that the fundamental constitution of France was a monarchy; (and that the country had been powerful and prosperous under it;) that France had been always taken and understood as a monarchy; and that, with its monarchy, all the treaties now existing were formed; that these treaties (especially those which stipulated close friendship) imply at least the choice of a guarantee to the monarchy, and security to the monarch, against foreign force or domestic rebellion.

[4] *viz.*;—as many as possible.

Strongly to state the rebellion,—its nature; provoked by no oppression, no grievance supported, no offender protected; full of treachery, as applying the powers derived from the crown to its destruction; and when called to strengthen his government, perfidiously subverting it;—an entire usurpation;—that certain orders and ranks were in the essence of the French constitution, and highly beneficial to the nation; that a certain established religion, with certain legal possessions,—were the old common law of France;—a judicature arising from the authority of the throne, also of immemorial usage, of great benefit;—all these subverted:—Then, the grievances under the new constitution; the disappearance of money, from the insecurity of property; the fraudulent and insolvent scheme of a paper currency:—Then, all the grievances of the new regimen:—An assurance that they mean nothing against the *true* ancient rights, liberties, and privileges of the people, or any thing which the public wisdom, acting without restraint, may contrive for their further benefit:—That it is for *that very purpose* the restoration of the king and monarchy is desired. Remember always, that the tyranny of the present usurping government be principally insisted on.

I told you that the ministers had taken no notice of my book. It was then true. But this day I have had the inclosed civil note from

Dundas. The success of this last pamphlet is great indeed [5]. Every one tells me that it is thought much better than the former [6]. I have no objection to their thinking so; but it is not my opinion. It may, however, be more useful. Not one word from one of our party. They are secretly galled. They agree with me to a tittle; but they dare not speak, out for fear of hurting Fox. As to me, they leave me to myself; they see that I can do myself justice. Dodsley is preparing a third edition; the second I have corrected.

Since I wrote the two first sheets I have seen Mr. Dundas, and have received a most complete and satisfactory assurance of the neutrality, at least amicable, of this court. To say the truth, I asked him his opinion directly, and without management. But he set me quite at my ease, not only with regard to himself, but to every subdivision of the ministry, who all agreed, and very heartily, in this point. He went further, and said that the king of Prussia was not only well-disposed, but hearty, in the same cause. A letter which Adey [7] received from St. Leger spoke such language on the subject as prepared me for this very good account. I doubt, on the whole, whether the

[5] "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

[6] "Reflections on the Revolution in France".

[7] Stephen Thurston Adey, Esq., afterwards M.P. for Higham Ferrers.

Emperor is more in earnest than he. All thought of an increase of territory on the side of Poland, for the present at least, is completely given up; and it is thought that he and the Emperor are come to a perfectly good understanding with each other. You see our armament is laid up. The king is himself (and I confess, considering every thing, it is highly generous, and wise, too, in him) most earnest in favour of this cause of sovereigns. He is constantly asking whether the king of France will be firm, and reject the constitution. In short, every thing external is as favourable to these unhappy persecuted people[8] as possible; but through weakness, irresolution, and the spirit of intrigue, they betray themselves their own garrison. The inclosed letter, from our Paris correspondent, will show you where the danger lies. That most unfortunate woman[9] is not to be cured of the spirit of court intrigue, even by a prison; and it is certain that all miserable people, whose spirits are become abject by calamities and insults, grow out of humour with their friends; and, as the mind must be fed with some sort of hope, begin to repose theirs in their enemies. All low politicians aim at working with their adversaries, by which means they give them strength, and become their prey. She is not to be cured of the politics

[8] The King and Queen of France.

[9] The Queen of France.

of Brienne; and as all people of honour are fled, she is wholly in the hands of those who profess to save her from the last evils in her situation, and by overcharging her danger, get her to put herself into the hands of those who will engage to free her at the price of abandoning those of whose success she is jealous. On the 25th they are to propose this constitution of theirs to the king. They have already relaxed his chains, and they mean to put him (nominally, to be sure) at complete liberty. They have reconciled him to La Fayette. People do not doubt but that he will accept. I sketched a few hints to be sent to her by the Duke of Dorset. He thinks he can get a perfectly safe hand.

After all, if this unfortunate pair should put the last hand to their disgrace and degradation, the honest and spirited part of the French nation, who must then act in trust for the whole, know very well that the monarchy of France is not in the disposal of any one of its kings; and that he cannot, even by his freest consent, destroy his throne, his nobility, his church, his tribunals, his corporations, his orders, and the general tenure of property among his subjects:—That he has no assembly competent to represent the nation:—That this assembly is a manifest usurpation, and had obtained its power by frauds, violences, and crimes:—That their constitution, to which they

will pretend the free consent of the king, had been before presented to him, part by part, in detail; that he had consented to them; that, afterwards, he had declared that consent to have been extorted by terror; and that, at the time, he had been a prisoner. Has he been less so since that declaration? And can it be presumed that he approves, in the whole, that thing which, after having approved in the parts, he has afterwards disowned in the whole and all the parts? This last act, instead of being a proof of his liberty, is a tenfold proof of his slavery. And even if he were really and truly at liberty, yet his mind having been completely broken by repeated previous insults, and now under terrors by the strength of a faction still calling for his life through a trial, and his child having been actually taken from him, and held as an hostage, no act of his can or ought to be considered as that of a king of France;—separated from his family, from all the princes of his blood, his *noblesse*, and the magistrates of his parliaments,—the natural friends and constitutional guardians of the rights of the crown. I think they[1] ought, after such a step, not to lose a moment, but to protest against the act, as under constraint, and as invalid in itself, if free. To renew their allegiance to him, their declaration of fidelity to the fundamental laws, and to the

[1] The French princes.

nation, properly understood and constitutionally represented; to call the scattered members of the parliament together; to assume the regency; to call upon those allied in blood, interest, and friendship, with the crown of France, to assist them; and to act without the least regard to what he may seem to have done. This is my fixed opinion; and they ought not to be frightened with the voice of those people who, between weakness of nerves and want of fixed principles of morals and politics, betray every cause that they have in hand. How come these fierce republicans, even the very firebrands of the Jacobins, all at once to pretend this affection to royalty, but in order to betray it more effectually through the means of the stuffed skin of a monarch?

I was at the levée yesterday, as the rule is, when the king sends you a civil message. Nothing could be more gracious than my reception. He told me that he did not think any thing could be added to what I had first written; but he saw he was mistaken, that there was very much added, and new, and important, and, what was most material, what could not be answered. He then asked me whether I had seen that scheme of absurdity, the French constitution, and what I thought of it. I told him I had seen all the flowers separately, and did not like them better now that I had seen them tied up in one *bouquet;* I told him that the absurdity of

this usurpation would do its own business, if not prevented by the weakness of one man. After the levée, he asked Dundas who he thought was the one man I meant,—whether it was the king? He said he believed it was, as it was most certainly. I had afterwards a conversation with Dundas at his office. * * * *

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I send this through some hand that he provides. I think it better to send you a pacquet of all our letters than to detail their contents. I dine tomorrow at Dundas's with Mr. Pitt and Sir David Dalrymple. * * * * *

* * * * * * *

The taking away the Dauphin ought to be much insisted on; the giving him into the hands of the known enemies of the crown as guardians; the choosing as preceptor, Condorcet,—the most furious of the heads of the Jacobin club, and a known enemy and despiser of the Christian religion,—to educate the most Christian king; the very same turbulent and seditious libeller whom, without naming, they have alluded to as such in all their debates, and have accordingly suspended the effect of their ballot. Their disposition, however, has not been the less shown, because their quarrel prevented the execution of their intentions. By the way, though not connected with this, when the king's consent is talked of, of what importance is it, when his negative is taken away wholly, and

only amounts to a time for deliberation,) whether he assents or not, to any law whatsoever?

The question is higher still in this case:—Whether they have a right to suppose the king as in a moment of election, and to offer him the crown on just what terms they please? This is to suppose the crown elective, to all intents and purposes. Take this, or you are not to reign! * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *[2]

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

London, August 17, 1791.

MY DEAREST, DEAREST SON,

I wrote by the last packet a letter to you through Mr. Danoot at Brussells, because I had not got your direction. I gave you in that letter some cautions which I thought might be proper, on some news I had heard on my arrival in town. The cause of them is wholly vanished. Every thing at home and abroad looks as well as possible. The only danger is from the persons in whose favour, in the first instance, all these efforts are made. There is a wicked cabal to persuade these unhappy people to put the final seal to their disgrace and ruin. The queen has such a foolish

[2] The passages omitted in this letter relate to private affairs.

dread of the influence of Calonne, that she chooses to risk herself with Barnave. The spirit of cabal will perplex, but I hope will not defeat the scheme which is now carrying on, not for a man or a woman, but for the cause of government. I hear that the king of France has written to the Emperor, that he will accept the constitution, and does not wish any assistance. He is to have a show of liberty on the 25th. There are a set of the worst women and men in France got about the queen, who have filled her with I know not what visions of hopes and fears. Oh! there's the rub!—as it will give those wretches the name of royalty, and leave the cause the name of merely aristocratic, whilst it will get many *aristocrates* in the assembly, who long for some excuse to go over. I shall send you, by a safe hand, my other letter. I go down[3] at this instant; your mother has gone before me. God Almighty bless you. Adieu! Adieu!

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, August 18, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I have a great packet to send you of all the letters we have received, almost on any business, with

[3] *viz.*—to Beaconsfield.

much writing of my own. I dine with Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon to-morrow, and hope to find some safe and expeditious way of sending it to you, besides the letter by post, and the packet sent by Mitchener's boat. I have written thrice by the post. If you have not received all those letters, it is no great matter. The only one about which I am solicitous, is that which I wrote to you two days ago, to be cautious in your correspondence, on account of the dubious dispositions of some people. On this point I am now perfectly easy. All is just as it should be, and as we wish it; unless the parties principally concerned, through pusillanimity, base jealousy, or a mean spirit of intrigue in one of them, (things greatly to be feared,) betray themselves. But they ought not to be suffered to betray, in their own persons, things of infinitely more moment. This is not the cause of a king, but of kings; not the interest of the French nation, but of all nations; not the business of this time, but what must decide on the character, and of course on the happiness, of many generations. The king of France cannot annihilate the monarchy. He holds his power in trust. The assembly cannot annihilate the constitutional states. It is itself an usurpation, and its acts are void. I have said to you more at large what occurred to me in the larger packet. I only write to desire you not to mind the cautions which,

from an over-anxiety, I had given you in one of my letters. There was no ground at all for my apprehension; all is perfectly as we wish it. I wrote to you directed to Coblentz, to satisfy you on this subject. I now write to Brussells through Danoot, to take every chance of hitting you, and of making your mind easy. We are, thank God, very well; your mother better in her general health; not quite so much in her limbs. May God give you all I wish you; and that you deserve I should live only to pray for. Adieu! Adieu!

Your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

THE DUKE OF DORSET TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Piccadilly, August 20, 1791.

SIR,

The present situation of the *persons* to whom your application is addressed, renders it impossible to transmit to them any information without the use of a cypher. Luckily I have had access to *their* private cypher; and, with the assistance of two confidential friends, we have arranged the substance of your paper in a very short compass, which we propose forwarding to the *state-prisoners* with all possible dispatch. I am very sorry it was abso-

lutely necessary to meddle with a composition so full of energy and eloquence, but every possible precaution was necessary to be taken, to prevent the fatal consequences of a discovery. Since you left London, Mons. de Mercy is arrived. He is so much *au fait* of every circumstance respecting the French revolution, and is, at the same time, so extremely desirous of being acquainted with you, that I hope you will endeavour to see him, should you happen to be in London before he returns to the continent. He wishes to call on you, but I told him you were gone into the country. I will send you the contents of the cypher in a day or two.

I have the honour to be, sir, with great truth and regard,

Your most faithful humble servant,

DORSET.

P.S. I have this moment received the extract, which is put into cypher, and will be sent directly:—we hope it will meet with your approbation.

(IN CYPHER.)

Le Duc de Dorset me charge de faire parvenir une opinion:—elle est de Mr. Burke.

Le monde entier a les yeux ouverts sur le parti que l'on prendra aux Thuilleries. Tout engagement à des conditions nuisibles, feroit perdre la gloire et le mérite qu'une conduite noble et ferme a procuré jusqu'à present; on perdroit toute con-

sidération, tout l'intérêt que l'on inspire; on perdroit tous ses amis. Si les factieux s'engageoient à une composition juste et favorable à la royauté, ils n'avoient ni les moyens, ni le pouvoir de la remplir. En négociant, on perd toute sa force, et son crédit. Ce n'est point par l'adresse mais pas la fermeté seule que l'on peut se sauver, et la conduite à tenir consiste dans la patience, le silence, et le réfus.

The following memorandum has been found amongst Mr. Burke's papers, indorsed as follows by himself.

Sketch of a letter to the late queen of France, to be sent through the Comte de Merci Argenteau. But he pretended that it would make too large a pacquet for him to risk. He only sent two or three of the last lines, if he sent any. I suspect he did not enter very warmly into my sentiments; indeed, I am sure he did not.

E. B.

Circumstances require that my words should be few; my sentiments demand that they should be faithful; they cannot be ceremonious.

Since the commencement of these troubles, you had a part to act which has fixed the eyes of the world upon you. You have suffered much affliction, but you have obtained great glory. Your conduct at this great crisis will determine whether

the glory is to continue and the affliction to cease, or whether affliction and shame together are to attend on your life and your memory, as long as both shall last. Your place, your dangers, your interest, your fame, the great objects of your fears and hopes, will not suffer your conduct to be governed by little politics.

It cannot be supposed for an instant, that you can think of recommending any settlement whatsoever, which must dishonour, proscribe, and banish all the king's friends, and those of the monarchy and the church; and to place the whole power of the kingdom in the hands of their known enemies, who have never omitted any indignity or insult to your person, or your fame, and have made several attempts on your life.

For God's sake, have nothing to do with traitors. Those men who have been the authors of your common ruin, can never be seriously disposed to restore the nation, the king, yourself, or your children. If they had the inclination, their power has not solidity, consistency, or means of permanence sufficient, to enable them to keep any engagements they may seem to make with you. Their whole power is to hurt you;—to serve you they have none.

If the king accepts their pretended constitution, you are both of you undone for ever. The greatest powers in Europe are hastening to your rescue.

They all desire it. You can never think this a time for surrendering yourself to traitors, along with the rights of all the sovereigns allied to you, and whose cause is involved in yours.

You will be told by intriguing people, that your own personal influence and consideration will be swallowed up in that of the faithful princes and nobility who have abandoned their country in the royal cause, and who now risk all that remains of their fortunes and their hopes for your relief. No, madam! Faithful souls do not know what it is to be insolent and overbearing. These are the qualities of the persons who rule at present. The loyal French will consider your patience and fortitude as an ample contingent contributed to the general cause; and your claim to influence will not be only as the queen, but as the deliverer of France.

But if (which God forbid) your majesty should be persuaded by mischievous caballers to do any thing which may confirm and fix the power of traitors, they will not use it in favour of your majesty, of the king, or of your royal offspring which they have torn out of your bosom. No!—The king will have no *real* authority whatsoever; and what shadow of it may be allotted to his name, will be employed for their own purposes, by those men who have given it, and who, when they please, may resume it. But those faithful

subjects who wish to restore the king, not to nominal, but to real power, know very well that, when they have succeeded in their design, their very success must make them dependent upon him.

The intriguers will tell your majesty that all men are alike, and that the Barnaves, the Lameths, the Chapeliers, and the La Fayettes, are as good as any other, if they can be made serviceable to you. This is a most fatal error. All men are not courtiers or chicaners; or, if it were true that we are all evil, the interests of some men are more connected with yours than that of others.

Madam,—all is in your hands. The moment you begin to negotiate with the traitors, you lose your greatest strength, which is wholly in patience, firmness, silence, and refusal. You cannot take an active measure which does not lead to destruction.

Madam,—warm zeal will sometimes be an excuse for presumptuous intrusion. This paper goes to your majesty from a foreigner, but from one who has given the only proof in his power of his sincere admiration of your virtues, and of his hearty devotion to your interests.

Note in Mr. Burke's handwriting:—

[N.B. This is the rough draft. Some alterations were made;—none affecting the subject.]

J. HELY HUTCHINSON, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Palmerston House, near Dublin,
August 23, 1791.

MY DEAR BURKE,

The diploma[1] should have been sent long since, but our engraver has been dilatory, and I have received it but this moment. The Senior Fellows have this day unanimously agreed to my proposal to them, that the diploma should be presented to you in a gold box; but the diploma having been so long delayed, they have agreed with me that it should not wait for the gold box. This will give me another opportunity of assuring you how much you are loved, and how highly respected by an old friend, who honours himself and the society to which he belongs, by taking every opportunity of showing to what a degree they value and reverence talents, and knowledge, and virtue, such as yours!

Adieu, my dear Burke,—may every happiness attend you!

Ever yours, most truly and affectionately,
J. HELY HUTCHINSON.

[1] The degree of LL.D.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

Beconsfield, August 25, 1791.

MY DEAR RICHARD,

We thank you for your letter from Juliers, and we wait with some impatience for your letter from Coblentz. I think it must have been a comfort to your exiled old friend to meet you at Aix. That meeting put me in mind of your observation of the effect your seeing him at Auxerre produced, the year after our tempest here, which I used to call a revolution, but which bore such a resemblance to this, as a breeze in a summer's evening does to the breaking up of the monsoon. You remember your feeling, at that time, relative to their undisturbed and fixed situation. You could then have said to them—

> Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
> Jam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur
> Vobis parta quies[5].

But I hope you may see them again in the old place, and compare the observations which you have made in the various periods of your fortune.

I have written (I think) three or four letters to you besides the pacquet which I sent through Mr. Dundas. Two of these letters were to

[5] Æn. iii. 495.

remove the uneasiness which one of them might have given you. I wrote under the various impressions which the different conversations I had with different persons, had made on my mind. On my coming to town, I had great doubts concerning the disposition of the ministers to our cause. These are thoroughly removed from my apprehensions. I am persuaded that the king and the ministers are perfectly right, but I am not equally satisfied with their not possessing the foreign powers with the same idea. I have been invited to dine with Lord Hawkesbury, to meet Count de Mercy;—I like his conversation. He is much in the confidence of the queen of France and of the Emperor. He was the imperial minister at Paris, and was there through all the critical period of the revolution. He breakfasted with me in town the morning after our meeting, and we had much discourse. I was very sorry to find that he was of opinion, his master would not move while the disposition of this court continued equivocal. He said that England stood so high in the general estimation, that no power in Europe would venture upon any decisive step until our resolution was known, and that they had received nothing at all clear and satisfactory upon the subject. That the old rivalship between Great Britain and France would always furnish a plausible pretence for embarrassing those who should take any steps towards the re-establish-

ment of that country in its ancient consideration in Europe; and that the Emperor would probably withhold himself from any scheme which might put it out of his power to exert his strength in defence of his own dominions and his own rights. For that his being engaged in such an undertaking as the French, would give a fair opportunity to those who might wish to execute troublesome affairs. I did all I could, but I don't think to much purpose, to satisfy him of the dispositions of our ministers. It is but natural that he should consider such a declaration as perfectly unsatisfactory from any but themselves. Why they do not make it in the fullest manner, when nothing is asked from them but a clear engagement for an amicable neutrality, is what I cannot conceive; for as, on one hand, I do not think they can safely go further, so, on the other, there is nothing but downright madness that can engage them, in any event, to give support or even countenance to the French system. He was to dine with Mr. Pitt yesterday, and with Lord Grenville to-day. Perhaps he may hear something further at these dinners, but in truth I doubt it. We had much talk, and something on your ideas, about the Netherlands, and he spoke very reasonably and temperately about them. I told him that, on your return to Brussells, you would present yourself to him; and he said what should be, or could be said on the occasion. He

told me that he came in no public character,—that it was a trip of mere curiosity; but I believe he wished to reconnoitre the ground. I am not quite in as much good humour with this business as I have been, but I will do my best. I told you I had dined at Lord Hawkesbury's; I had before dined and lay at Dundas's. I dined with the Bishop of Salisbury (Douglas) at Windsor, and after, went on the terrace. The king was very gracious. If I can divine any thing from what I see or hear, he is perfectly in earnest in favour of his imprisoned brother. There is, I conceive, hardly a doubt, that this unfortunate man will again, under the idea of freedom, put on his chains. In my long letter I endeavoured to throw down some reasons tending to show, that no notice whatsoever is to be taken of what he does, and that it ought to have no impression on the general system. The democrats here are a little, and but a little, more quiet. As to the friends to whom I have sent my defence, *altissimum silentium;* it looks almost as if it were from concert. I know it is not. Dundas sent the letter to you, to Mrs. Gardiner's [6]. One of my letters was directed to Coblentz, the other to the care of Danoot, at Brussells. I am easy about O'Beirne. We have heard from my brother, who, thank God, is well:—Not much to do on the circuit;—

[6] Col. Gardiner was at this time the diplomatic agent at Brussells, in the absence of Lord Torrington.

something at Bristol, in which he got great credit. Adieu! your mother is, on the whole, much better:—Our most cordial blessing to you;—our love to Nagle. Adieu!

25th August;—the day on which the king of France has probably accepted his deposition.

EDM. BURKE.

FROM MONSIEUR, (AFTERWARDS LOUIS XVIII.) TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

A Schönbornslust,
ce 26 Aoust, 1791.

IL y a long temps, monsieur, que je désire une occasion de vous parler de tous les sentimens que vos ouvrages m'ont inspiré pour vous; Monsieur votre fils me la fournit enfin. Je commencerai par vous remercier des choses obligeantes dont vous l'avez chargé pour mon frère, et pour moi; je me permettrai ensuite de vous féliciter de la manière dont il s'est acquitté de la commission que vous lui avez donnée: mais comme je sçais que votre nation n'aime pas les louanges, même les mieux méritées, je me bornerai à vous dire qu'il s'est montré le digne fils de M. Edmund Burke. Ce n'est pas en vain que la nation Angloise passe pour généreuse; tous les François attachés à leur Roi, à leur religion, et aux vrais principes de la monarchie, l'ont bien éprouvé dans cette triste occasion, et nous avons une preuve bien authen-

tique tant des lumières de sa majesté Britannique et de ses ministres, que de la loyauté de leur politique, dans la réponse qui vient d'être faite par le Cabinet de Saint-James à la déclaration de l'Empereur. Quant à vous, Monsieur, ce n'est pas seulement à la reconnoissance et à l'admiration de mes compatriotes que vous avez acquis des droits; c'est à celle de tous les souverains, et de tous les hommes bien-pensans, de tous les pays et de tous les siècles. Soyez bien persuadé en mon particulier que mes sentimens pour vous ne finiront qu'avec ma vie.

LOUIS STANISLAS XAVIER.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Coblentz, August 26, 1791.

MY DEAR FATHER,

When the ultimate execution of any business is in your hands, or rather when the adoption or rejection of the measure rests with you, I feel myself perfectly at ease. This is fully the case now; upon the whole, I think you will be for the affirmative; though I refer the decision, as well as the execution, entirely to you, both as to the substance and as to the mode. We have thought it would be advisable that Monsieur should take the opportunity of the answer of our court to the Emperor's declaration (viz. a promise of neutrality,

attended with general expressions of kindness,) to write a letter of acknowledgment to the king. This seems to be as good a way as any other of commencing an intercourse with our court. Another very desirable object is to draw out some favourable explanation, if we cannot procure any alteration in the conduct of the Elector of Hanover in the diet. This object may, or may not, be united with the other; accordingly, two letters are written, in one of which mention is made of the Hanover business; in the other it is omitted, in order that if either is approved, that one should be delivered which is thought preferable. The mode which is suggested for the delivery of it, is as follows:—Two French gentlemen are to wait upon you, and to say they have a letter of compliment from Monsieur to His Majesty, which they do not know what to do with, having no communication with the French minister; and that in their distress they apply to you. You might then go with the story to the Bishop of Salisbury at Windsor, who of course will tell it to His Majesty, who will probably wish to have the letter; or, what will be better, to receive it from one of the gentlemen. This is the plan for the delivery, unless you think it wrong, or can think of something better[7].' As to the letter itself, you

[7] The arrangement here proposed carries with it something of the air of an intrigue, from the manner in which it is communicated. It is, however, nothing more than an announce-

will see in the principles on which it is written the reasons for writing it, the propriety of which you will judge of, and act accordingly. As it is very desirable that some intercourse should be opened with our court, which may possibly be even jealous that so little and so late attention has been paid to it, and as there is little prospect of any direct minister being received for a good while to come, an opportunity is offered which I think ought not to be missed, of doing that indirectly and by way of compliment, which could not be done directly. A way presents itself to Monsieur of conveying[8] his situation as Regent by necessity, and having that fact understood if it cannot be recognized. Even a civil answer would be of great use; and a favourable one would open the way to a closer connection. So much for the main business. As to the corollary relative to Hanover, the tone of sentiment and professed informality in which the letter is conceived, seemed to admit a sort of lamentation relative to it; and with regard to both, a certain inofficial style in the thing and in the mode seemed suited to the pre-

ment of the course which the gentlemen charged with the letters would almost necessarily have taken to effect their delivery, and of the manner in which a reply was likely to be obtained, if any were made.

[8] *i. e.*—of conveying to the court of Great Britain, that he was, of necessity, become Regent, in consequence of the restraint imposed upon the King.

sent circumstances of the parties. Whether you will approve of all this is more than I can tell, but *I* think it is right. You will judge whether either of the letters, and which, is to be delivered, and how; and if the short one, how the Hanover business, which is the most urgent, is to be brought upon the *tapis*.

The letters will be delivered to you by the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye, who goes to England (inostensibly or ostensibly, as shall be thought best,) to act as agent for the princes; he carries with him credentials, to produce in case any unforeseen event should dispose our court to receive him in the character of a minister. If the other powers withdraw their ambassadors from Paris, in all probability we shall do so too; and then it will be strange, disallowing one government, not to recognize another; so that having an ambassador on the spot, ready to produce his powers, may be of use. It is thought right to send another gentleman of more known rank, in case you should think him more proper for the delivery of the letter in question. What a number of suppositions, and provisions, for supposed cases which may never happen! But all things must be tried;—they must knock at every door. For this purpose an ostensible letter of thanks to the ministers is addressed to you, with the intention of opening the way to more communication.

So much for the business in hand. I have got

yours of the 9th of August, which was the more agreeable, as I had almost begun to fear we had not got into the right method with regard to the post; this made me give you such particular injunctions with regard to it in my last. M. de Cazalès is come. I have of course called on him, and he on me;—great professions on both sides. He is evidently a man of parts, and of great natural eloquence. A little vanity is natural. On the whole, as well as I can judge, he is right-headed. I suppose a prejudice that all orators must be alike, makes me think him both like Mirabeau and Charles Fox. A certain tone of a soft, affected, smooth voice, which Mirabeau had, is the only thing I do not like about him; but perhaps that has been a fashion in France, and implies nothing with regard to the man. We are very great; and he says he intends to go to England on purpose to see you. The garde du corps, whom you are accused of having killed, is here. We expect news every day from Vienna, where Le Comte D'Artois was to have arrived on Thursday last,—this day seven-night. In all probability Monsieur will there be recognized as Regent. The peace you know is concluded between both the parties and the Porte; that of the Emperor was signed at Sistova[9] on the 5th of this month; this

[9] A town of Bulgaria, on the right bank of the Danube, where the negotiations were carried on for peace between the Emperor, as king of Hungary, and the Porte.

is official intelligence from the Emperor to the Elector of Treves; the other is thought to be well-authenticated also. Adieu, my dear father! Believe me to be, &c. &c.

I had forgot to tell you that M. de Mercy, the late minister at Brussels, is gone to London. His journey we suspect to be political, as he is supposed to be very democratically inclined, and to be, at the same time, in a secret correspondence with the unfortunate prisoners [1]. It is feared that some people are inconsiderate enough to endeavour to persuade this unhappy pair to obstruct their own deliverance by intriguing in foreign courts, upon some vain and vague hopes of improving their situation themselves. It was certainly the case before the flight, and may be so still. Neither the king nor the queen keep up their spirits; and it is feared he will accept the Constitution. I told you I wrote from Brussells to endeavour to avert this (almost) fatal measure. Any thing of advice from London, more authoritative, might have its effect; and if you can think of any thing of the kind, either of your own, or from any other person, it will get safe by being sent to the Marquis de la Quenille, Brussells. Let me know, if you can, what M. de Mercy is about.

[1] The King and Queen of France.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

Beconsfield, September 1, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I bless God, to find by your letter of the 16th from Coblentz, that you were well; at least you say nothing of yourself with regard to health, which we interpret favourably. I am glad you propose, in the dead time, to see the adjacent countries. For this purpose, I do not think you can be under the same difficulties in your passage which have attended you. The way is not long; and the Rhine, I believe, improves quite up to the Palatinate. * * Two of my letters were to apprise you of my doubts and uneasiness concerning the disposition of the ministers; two others were to assure you that I was perfectly easy on that head. My last announced to you the return of my doubts and anxieties. When my first uneasiness was removed, by what I thought a very clear explanation on the part of Dundas, he asked me to dine with him at Wimbledon, in order to meet a Scotch judge, (Lord Hailes,) who he said was, and I found to be, a clever man and generally knowing. I accepted his invitation. Mr. Pitt dined there with some others. He pressed me to

stay the night, and I complied; but neither at dinner, supper, or breakfast, did a single word pass which had the smallest reference either to foreign or domestic politics. It is odd that so many politicians could have met, and could have kept so totally clear of that subject. So it was. When I returned hither, I received a card from Lord Hawkesbury, desiring me to dine with him in the country, to meet the Comte de Mercy Argenteau, who was very desirous of seeing me. He is much in the confidence of the queen of France, and much attached to her. He is also much in favour with the Emperor. That day also, no political discourse. He was to dine the next day with Pitt; the following with Lord Grenville. The latter asked me to dine with him, but I had been previously engaged at home. The Count de Mercy appointed the next morning to breakfast with me. There we had much political discourse. The whole effect of it was, that neither the Emperor, nor any other power in Europe, would take any part in the affairs of France, until they were apprised of the dispositions of this court and ministry;—that they could draw nothing definite from them. I was mortified at this. I repeat to you, in a few words, what I detailed more at length in my last, fearing you should have missed it. The conduct of the Hanoverian minister does astonish me; because

the king's wishes on this matter are no secret to any person. He speaks them to every creature that approaches him; and I cannot conceive what end or object he can have in so over-acted a dissimulation. But I do not believe that he dissembles at all. There is a fatality;—and there's an end of it. As to the ministers, I believe, too, that they do by no means wish ill to the cause of the French monarchy and nobility. But I believe that they are grown very timid. This Russian business following the Spanish immediately, has rendered them unpopular, and Fox ascends in the other scale. You see on what topics they chose to magnify him at York. It is a slap at me. I had thoughts of going to the north; but what has happened at York, and more of the same kind which I foresee at other places, makes me think that my presence would rather embarrass our friends. I could not meet Fox quite at my ease; or quite, perhaps, to his or their satisfaction. So I think I had better stay quietly at home until you come; and when your curiosity is sated with the Rhine, which by this time I suppose it is, you will think of returning. I should not be sorry that you should just see the Hague and Amsterdam. I see no good end of all this; nor do I think it of much moment whether the princes have a minister here or not. I shall not wholly relax. I shall make one effort more, and that shall be my last. Wis-

dom and religion dictate that we should follow events, and not attempt to lead, much less to force them. Non mihi res. This lesson I learn late; but you should learn it early. Be cheerful and composed, and all will be well, according to the dispositions of a power, much wiser than we are. Adieu, adieu! The "Appeal" goes off, and is liked, notwithstanding Dodsley's industry in suppression. The third edition will be out to-morrow, after a want of supply to the demand for four or five days. Have you got the books I sent you? Has Bouillé got my letter? I fear that was not paid for. Your mother blesses you. She is well, thank God, though still weak in her limbs. All well, and salute you. We expect your uncle every day. I send this to town by Laurence. I have thrown out many hints in my other letters.

RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Coblentz, September 2, 1791.

MY DEAR FATHER,

And also my dear Mother,—for you surely are not less included. It was one of my satisfactions in receiving your letters, to find that I did receive them. I had taken it into my head to distrust the post, and imagined that all communication with you was cut off; an idea at this time, and in

this place, more particularly frightful to me. I have, however, got all your letters:—All your instructions I have read and meditated. They, in fact, nearly accord with my own ideas, though much better enforced and expanded. I trust there will be no occasion for the protest. We have good hopes that the king will keep up his courage, and refuse to accept the constitution. Monsieur tells me he is very reserved as to his future intentions, from which he augurs well; as it would be natural for him, if they were such as his keepers would relish, to endeavour to conciliate their favour by a disclosure of them. I understand he has refused to take the rules.

On the arrival of the news from Vienna, I thought it best to write to Dundas without any further delay. It was as good as possible; but a sad draw-back is arrived to-day in the shape of new doubts relative to England. But of this by and by, and when I hear the matter more distinctly. The Emperor had agreed to a whole string of propositions presented to him by the Comte D'Artois, conditioned for the acquiescence of the king of Prussia. The substance is a recognition of Monsieur as regent, and an engagement to assist him to make good the title and restore the monarchy, with other articles relating to contingents, supplies, steps to be taken with other powers, &c. &c. On this view of the matter I

have written to my correspondent: I hope you will approve the principle, which I have managed with as much dexterity as I was master of. On a general view of the appearances from foreign powers, and of the interior state of the kingdom, both which I drew a short sketch of, I gave it as my opinion, that on casting up the probabilities of failure and success, I thought the latter much the most weighty; but that, upon the whole, I was of opinion that either the confederacy would not take place, or, taking place, would not be executed in the manner we should desire; nor, if successful, be exempt from dangerous consequences, unless England, by some direct participation, gave her assistance to animate, to direct, and to temper the whole mass. My serious opinion is, that if our court does not lend a helping hand, the business will not do. I endeavoured therefore to make out, with as solid and persuasive arguments as I could, the necessity, policy, and safety, of our interference. Dundas will probably talk to you on the subject, and therefore show you my letter. I am almost afraid to ask myself what you will think of it. At first I pleased myself tolerably; but, by dint of thought, I came not to know whether what I had written was good or bad; but since the urgency of the time makes it more judicious to do ill than not to do at all, I took heart, and sent my letter. It is necessarily of a con-

siderable length, and I made it somewhat longer by endeavouring to make it readable, and relieving the dryness of a mere argument. What I have done and said, you must take for the best. My arguments seem to me such as to make me wish you yourself would give them a serious consideration, and if you agree with me, endeavour to enforce my ideas, and forward the object. The account we have just received from Dresden confirms me in my opinion, that a mere neutrality on our part never will be sufficient. It is in itself so poor a security, and so liable to misinterpretations, and to ambiguities from every little collateral circumstance, that instead of dispelling the mutual jealousies of those who would otherwise undertake this work, it is not enough to satisfy their doubts with regard to ourselves. After all that we have heard and know of our Sovereign, court, and administration, it is impossible for us to doubt their intentions. Unfortunately, in the answer of the court of London to the Emperor's declaration, which was thought so favourable here as to be esteemed an essential service, there is something said about the Flemish affairs which has counteracted much of its effect on the Emperor's mind. Our first account of that answer was from Berlin, in which the latter circumstance was wholly omitted. In the account we have at present, I should think there must have been some mistake.

I send you an extract of the letter from Dresden: —"August 27th, 1791. L'Angleterre a fait à l'Empereur une réponse fort differente de celle qu'elle avoit fait au Roi de Prusse, et cette réponse est inconcevable. Elle ne promet la neutralité qu'à condition qu'on ne dérangera rien à la position actuelle des troupes de Flandre, sous pretexte qu'elles sont nécessaires pour maintenir les arrangemens dont la cour de Londres est garantie." The courier, whom we expect every hour to bring us the result of the conference at Pilnitz, will also inform them what the exact state of this matter is. I think it impossible that the one we have got should not be mistaken. It would be natural and proper enough when a request is made, to add to our compliance a desire to be satisfied in our turn, if we have any cause of complaint. I confess, however, I should wish even that had been avoided, because the object was to inspire confidence; all subjects of discussion might be reserved to another occasion. But the answer can hardly be as we have it. I do not know that any guarantee was actually entered into by England, (unless that under the treaty of Utrecht is alluded to,) and I understood that we were on bad terms with the Emperor in consequence of his proceeding to subdue the country pending the treaty; but I have not the facts of this affair before me. However, I do not see what

security to the constitution of the states of Flanders the magnitude of the imperial army can form. I should have thought it a more natural object of jealousy, both to us and the Low Countries; nor do I see what interest either England or Prussia can have, that the Emperor should keep an extraordinary number of troops in the Netherlands. On the other hand, this requisition seems to show a disposition in us to cripple him in his military operations, and on that frontier of France in which he is most in a condition to act. Besides that, an interference in the army establishment of a foreign prince seems extraordinary, it can hardly be stipulated in any treaty existing relative to Flanders. The barrier treaty surely does not come in question now. I sincerely wish that, if possible, you should endeavour to make a business of this, and try to get some favourable explanation of it. After all, it is just possible, that the Emperor has made this an excuse for his own fears relative to Flanders, and that it is not founded on fact, he being as unwilling to march those troops as the princes would be prompt to apply for them. I said enough in my former letter to show my opinion that this terror was ill-directed. But it is not to you that I am to prove that the spirit of insurrection, residing where it will, is to be fought with and vanquished only in France. Would it be possible to persuade our ministers to send instruc-

tions to our ambassadors at all foreign courts, to make it their business to forward this confederacy, and to do their utmost to quiet all jealousies and remove all obstacles? If we did not choose to commit ourselves as a nation, much might be done by our foreign ministers in the way of private negotiation. This, indeed, would require some degree of attachment to the cause, and capacity to act without the leading strings of form,—memorials, &c. Neither of these, I am afraid, are to be found in our corps-diplomatic. You tell me what Ewart is. I know nothing of Sir R. M. Keith, but he bears a character of ability. If, however, our ministers have not instruments to execute a line of nice policy, they ought to adapt their policy to their instruments, and assume such a one as is liable to no mistakes. Supposing government, as I do, to be really in earnest, they ought without loss of time to send a full, unequivocal, unqualified declaration of their sentiments to the Emperor, which will have the benefit, either of dispelling his doubts, or of cutting off his excuses;—in either case he would act. They ought to send some person with an express commission for this purpose. I would willingly go myself; although I think, if things went on well at Vienna, my presence might be more useful here. I can only make two probable conjectures relative to this mystery; one, supposing it to be invention,

the other reality; that the Emperor is resolved to keep his troops in the Netherlands, from the double fear of the king of Prussia and of his own Flemish subjects, or, that there is a determination in Prussia indirectly to thwart the enterprise; yet why then profess to second it? I am in a wilderness. I much regret that I did not avail myself, while I was in England, of the confidence that was given me, to know a little more of the detail of our foreign politics. It would have opened my own mind a little upon the subject, and by that means enabled me to explain more satisfactorily the difficulties which arise, and are much increased, or perhaps created, by my ignorance.

I have had an answer from our friend at Hanover. The business is perfectly explained. The regency, to whom the business was entirely left, took it up as an ordinary concern, and were entirely governed in their deliberations by the strict right of the complaining parties to the interference of the empire, which they were not able very clearly to make out, nor did the time admit of the investigation. The only political reason operating was, the fear of the expence in case war had been declared. By a law of the empire, whatever affects the public purse must pass unanimously. This was the reason of the protest. Formality! Formality! I have time only to say adieu. Continue to write till I forbid you.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Beconsfield, September 10, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I shall be happy to see you and your worthy brother whenever your convenience will permit me to enjoy that pleasure. I have no doubt that the Duke of Dorset is of the party you mention. But who is not? All the negotiators in the world will put their trust in negotiation. The crowned heads and their ministers will pay little regard to the sufferings of a distressed gentry, clergy, and magistrature. If they could negotiate personal ease and safety to kings and queens, they would negotiate with the lowest wretches and greatest villains upon earth. They only look to the persons who, for the present, have power in their hands. Of this stuff is made, not only the late minister, but every minister we have to deal with; and we must convince them that they are not in a right way to their sole object, by treating with knaves and traitors, or we have no hope; for I must repeat it, the support of virtuous men and the punishment of knaves, is no part of the concern of any of them. If I knew any of the ministers who even go so far as the Duke of Dorset, in concern and interest in the

state of France, I would not apply to him. But he has some, and he is connected with a man whose voice and opinion, as I conceive, goes a great way. As to the minister who must finally decide, he is not in London. The king is at a great distance, and the ministers in town can at present only hear. The Emperor must decide, and that speedily, or little can be done. However, I shall go to town the instant I see any opening. I must wait the Duke of Dorset's answer. You see, no two of the ministers are nearer than seventy or eighty miles of each other; and some of them at a much greater distance from the king. We cannot change the nature of things and of men, but must act upon them the best we can. Keep up your spirits. Your difficulties will not be owing to your want of ability for the business imposed on you, but to the state of the world. My best respects, with Mrs. Burke's and my brother's, to the abbé, whom we long to see.

I have the honour to be, with the most entire respect, and the most unfeigned regard,

My dear sir,

Your most faithful and obedient

humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Coblentz, September 10, 1791.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I gave you in my last the substance of the difficulty that had occured at Pilnitz in the equivocal terms of the answer to the imperial declaration, and the sort of condition that accompanied it. I can hardly think it can have been such as has been represented; but that representation is all we know of the matter, as they neglected (in such a hurrying time it is not very surprising) to get a copy of it. Whatever it was, it is either the cause, or the pretext, (I rather hope the former because the most remediable,) of infinite mischief. It was received at Pilnitz. It made no change in the Emperor's assurances of assistance, nor in those of the king of Prussia; but the former alleged that his hands were tied up in the quarter in which alone he was able to come forward immediately; and that, therefore, time must be given for the more distant troops to march, which, together with the difficulties started by the ministers and generals, was to occasion a delay of several months, and even to make it impossible to take a step before the spring. The king of

Prussia declared his resolution of not moving till the Emperor was actually in march; still persevering in his assurances, with the additional engagement of furnishing the same number of troops that the Emperor does. Thus vanished the fair prospect which opened at Vienna; where the Emperor not only assented to all the articles presented to him by the Comte D'Artois, but himself strongly expressed his apprehensions of the consequences of delay, and his earnest desire of prompt and decisive actions. This you must conceive is a cruel blow; indeed, nothing could well exceed the consternation produced by a short note from the Comte D'Artois, that he was dissatisfied with things, generally referring for the particulars to his own oral communications, and received here this day seven-night. On Sunday the 4th, in the evening, they arrived with the account I have just stated; but it has been thought proper to keep the exact state of things a secret, for fear of spreading too great a discouragement among the unfortunate sufferers, voluntary and involuntary, who daily assemble in greater numbers. Upon the whole, I think this prudent; the sum of the evil (great indeed in the present circumstances) is the delay arising from the ambiguous, or apparently ambiguous conduct of England. I have done a good deal to raise their drooping spirits by the suggestion

of various projects of resource and hope, and things wear a better aspect, at least to outward appearance. The day the Comte D'Artois arrived, the garde du corps, who are assembled here to the number of about two hundred, with a great body of other officers, went out to meet him a league or so on the other side of the river. There is on this river what they call a *pont volant*, or a bridge consisting of two boats joined by planks, and fastened at one end a good deal higher up, so that by shifting the anchor only, the current carries it backwards and forwards. On this bridge Monsieur and almost all the French that had remained in the town assembled to cross the water; and, whether it happened by design or concert I know not, the Comte got to the water's edge on the other side the very moment we got there. He is cherished to a degree you can hardly imagine; the satisfaction of seeing him after so long, rapid, and critical a journey, the general apprehensions of evil tidings and curiosity to know the particulars, produced a kind of convulsion in every countenance. The younger brother came into the boat, and I think I have seldom been witness of a more affecting scene. They repeatedly clung their arms about each other, and several times burst into tears, in which they were not single. This formed a strange and unexpected contrast with the last time I saw these two brothers together;—on the

floating bridge at Coblentz on the Rhine, after a nearly fruitless journey filled with such vicissitudes, instead of the peaceful and apparently secure pomp of Versailles, in which I had seen them last. I was surprised to find I did not recollect the Comte D'Artois's face; but I find that it was the heat of the journey, and the struggle to conceal his real feelings and put on an appearance of hilarity, that had produced this change. It is hard to say whether the shouts of "*vive le roi!*" contributed to enliven or sadden the scene.

But to return to business. It is now absolutely necessary that some active measure should be adopted by our court, to remove the ambiguities which, whether intentionally or otherwise, have involved our conduct. It is the natural result of a too cautious conduct, when others had an interest, aided by an indefatigable activity, to draw a false inference from that conduct. If this design is not to be wholly abandoned, and has yet any hope in it, England must make her intentions as clear as day; and even in such a manner as to obliterate the effect of the past. I confess to you I have still hopes, and I will tell you the ground of them. I am convinced that most, if not all, of the principal powers concerned have a serious *desire* (to say no more) to restore the French monarchy. If this is the case, I cannot but think it is possible to turn those desires to account, and to bring them

into action. If the uncertainty with regard to England *is* the real obstacle, I am so *deeply* convinced of the good dispositions of every thing that forms the effective strength of that country, that I cannot persuade myself that the obstacle is not to be removed. The *quomodo* is the thing to be considered.

I am still thoroughly persuaded that the *real* obstacle to this affair is, the mutual fears of the Emperor and the king of Prussia; and that the latter is unwilling to come forward, not only for fear the Emperor should take advantage of him, but because of the close and still subsisting connexion between Austria and France, which makes him see, in the re-establishment of that monarchy, an accession of power to his principal rival;—for rivals they are and must be, notwithstanding any temporary agreement. My speculation is, that the uncertainty of our neutrality weighs with the imperial court principally, if not solely, on account of our connexion with Prussia. For if England by any possibility can *become* hostile, what reliance is to be placed in the faith of Prussia, her ally? If this is so, the only course for England is to take her part, (always allowing for our situation, which demands only a very secondary one,) in order completely to dispel these distrusts. The natural effect will be, that we shall divide with Austria the ascendancy in France. This will give the king of Prussia

the advantage of preventing whatever the weight of the restored government in France may be from being thrown into the scale of Austria; and it is even possible that something might be provided by express treaty to this effect, if there was time for it. If, then, the Emperor should refuse to act his part, and we choose to proceed without him, it falls altogether into our scale. I am thoroughly persuaded that we shall have an active ascendancy in the French councils, if we take ever so little part in the counter-revolution. The principal advantage which I see in *that* is, the hope of preventing a relapse; because the love, veneration, and fear of the English name, would serve as some kind of a binding principle to supply the want of almost every other in that unfortunate country.

If I was superstitious, I should augur well from having this instant, in the act of writing, opened Milton at this passage, b. vi. 42;—turn to it. My opinion then is, that, if possible, the ministers should be prevailed upon to write the most explicit explanation of their disposition to every court in Europe, or, preferably, to send a person to Vienna, not only to remove the obstacle on our part, but to urge to speedy exertion, to overcome every other obstacle, and shorten every delay. You are to judge whether you can, will, or ought to do any thing in this business. You might, I think,

have a meeting with Dundas on the subject; the best way would be, to get him to go to Beconsfield, or for you to go to Wimbledon, so as to have the whole day of it. The circumstance of Pitt's not talking any foreign politics does not in the least surprise or alarm me. Consider a first meeting after so many years hostility! It is the subject of all others on which he is the most ignorant, the most sore, and the most timid; and as you did not introduce the subject, (I am *not* sorry you did not,) it is very natural the conversation should take another direction. However, you have it in your option whether to do any thing or not yourself, through de la Bintinnaye, or any other channel; because I mean myself to be in England in the course of three weeks at furthest from this date, if I do not hear something from thence, either from Dundas or you, which may induce me to stay, or to take any other direction. My communication with the ministers is itself less awkward, attended with more facility, and, from my residence here and my knowledge of the interests of this place, more natural, than it would be for you. I know myself (if any opening at all is given me) to be tolerably qualified for that sort of thing. You may therefore leave it to me, if you think any time may be safely lost; though I think you ought to do what you can, and afterwards leave me to do or to dream the rest.

You see I send Nagle with this; I therefore think it important both for safety and expedition. I have one reason more than I have yet told you, for wishing this to go by a very safe hand. I am to tell you that I can perceive, though I am not distinctly told, that there is a fixed persuasion in the French princes' council, that the Emperor is not in earnest, means to deceive them, and will fail when it comes to the pinch. I do not know that there is any ground for this suspicion, or on what it is founded, except the general uncertainty of his character, the past fluctuations, the present delay, the supposed, whether truly or falsely, indisposition of Kaunitz. This suspicion of the Emperor is sufficiently strong to make it received in deliberation *as a supposition*, and to make a question whether, if it should prove true, there is any other hope or any other possibility of success to be derived from the good disposition of the other powers; and whether it would be possible that England and Prussia could be induced in any form and manner, and for any considerations, to undertake the business. That their forces, together with Sardinia and Spain, with the Swiss and the German powers, would be sufficient for the accomplishment of the object, even without Austria, there is hardly a doubt; and I think not much more so, that, if England set her shoulders to the work, she could put the machine in motion. There

is hardly a possibility that Austria should take part *with* the national assembly. The considerations which might induce England and Prussia to take the business into their own hands are, first, the general safety of Europe. For what can be a more absurd idea, than that none of its states should look to that essential object; unless some *one* of them was true to the common interest, and saw it in its true light? The next consideration is, that of dissolving the union now subsisting between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, and reconciling the Prussian and French interest. In the *old order of things*, this was the natural distribution, and *perhaps* would be, if *that* (by the restoration of the French monarchy) was restored. Such is the general line of policy which renders this last hope practicable. The difficulties which would attend an application to this last resource, the power of reconciling with the present hope, or of managing so as to secure the timely execution of it without destroying the present hope,—all these things are before my eyes as strongly, if not as distinctly, as they can be before yours. Still, however, I do not think even this desperate; for if Great Britain was to show, in the mode of friendly interference, a very forward zeal in favour of the royal cause in France, that would, in the first place, dispel the Emperor's doubts, if they are such; if he is only irresolute, encourage and shame

him into decision; or lastly, if he proves false, it leaves us in a situation to put the business upon the other bottom, since we are already in a manner *in* the cause, and it justifies any new engagements which may be made with the restored government of France in derogation of the treaty of Vienna. It is in order to take a view of the ground, and, if possible, to forward the game that is playing at present, as well as the eventual backgame that is still left, that I mean to go to London, with full resolution of returning here, if I think I can be of the least use.

Your last letter, 1st September, is very disconsolate; but your despair seems principally to arise from your discourse with de Mercy, and his account of the minister's dispositions. I do not imply much from that. You already know that the unfortunate queen does everything, by her own intrigues, to ruin and cross her own interests. You know his connection with her. You know that the constant, invariable policy of all those who oppose the[3] princes, is to spread false accounts of the indisposition of every particular court. I am also to tell you that it is firmly believed, that M. de Mercy went to London with an express mission from the king and queen of France, to assure our ministers that the princes have no

[3] Viz.: those assembled at Coblentz.

authority from them, and no wishes, any further than that they should make some show of foreign force, but by no means enter into the kingdom. This accords so well with the Montmedy scheme, that it has all the appearance of probability. It is to be added, that de Mercy has been a foreign ambassador for many years; and also that he has twelve thousand a year sterling in the French funds, which may throw some shadow of doubt on his aristocratical principles. It is unfortunate, to be sure, that his representation of our ministers' disposition should be propagated throughout Europe, having been first sent to Vienna; and I am far from sure that the clause in our answer relative to the troops in Flanders was not suggested, from the treachery of fraud, or of fear, to our ministers. That idea could not have entered into their heads otherwise. Perhaps, indeed, it has been suggested by Lord Camelford, who has been long at Brussells, and is now here; but certainly not with any ill-intention (if) by him, and infused fraudulently into his mind. Lord Camelford seems persuaded of the necessity of all the Austrian troops remaining there for the safety of England. In *every* other respect he is perfectly right. You know my opinion, that the number of the troops makes the *only* danger. I should be willing to answer with my head to keep that country for ever with ten, I might even say with five, thousand men. There

are fifty. They are already considerably diminished by desertion, and may entirely melt away. I need not tell you the consequences. Lord Camelford has informed me, that Lord and particularly Lady Gower[4] are outrageously democratical, and that our ministers perpetually receive from him very dexterous, as I may judge from his representation, dissuasive arguments from assisting, or even countenancing, the counter-revolution. The seriousness of this affair in all its lights I am more and more convinced of, and think I can persuade the ministers of it. Think of Lord Palmerston being a convert! the success of the *propagande* in England is incredible, if I believe Lord C.'s account of the English he has seen and heard of. The Duchess of Cumberland flaming; but in this latter he may be prejudiced. He speaks decidedly as to Pitt's intentions; laments that the princes had nobody in England in whose ear a word might be dropped occasionally, to tranquillize and encourage them. This makes me think de la Bintinnaye may be received; the way to do it, will be to mention him as a person in confidence; the least communication will be of some advantage and lead to more; but all that is essential must, for some time at least, pass through me.

I have conceived some hopes from finding the

[4] More properly Lady Sutherland.

idea we once talked of, that of reviving among the *noblesse* some of the old feudal military principle, and of defending the country by *ban* and *arrière ban*, already adopted and proposed by many of them to the superiors. You will not be surprised that the proposition meets with some difficulties, more especially as it comes across a scheme already proposed for the formation of military corps out of the gentlemen. There is, however, sufficient opening to hope the former scheme may take effect. Indeed, I think it impossible to retain the country, if it was ever so much conquered, unless the nobility is made instrumental and actively efficient in the preservation of order; and unless they begin to feel and act in something of their corporate capacity here in their chrysalis state, they will not be able to do it when they are full blown. Here the germ must be formed. You need not doubt that I shall lend my helping hand, which, as things stand at present, is no small matter. It is impossible for anything to exceed the credit and weight which I have, or seem to have, here.

Our accounts are, that the king of France has gone so far in accepting, as to take time for deliberation and to give orders. This act of liberty is almost fatal, but I still hope for the best. I suppose this to have been a stratagem. If you won't accept, do us the civility of taking time to

deliberate, and we will give you your liberty. That point gained, all engines of terror and persuasion are set to work to procure or force the acceptance. I shall strongly urge the protest you recommend; it is an idea already in contemplation. I think it ought to be accompanied by a protest from the nobility, the clergy, and the tribunals *separatim*. What do you think? But shall I be able to receive your answer? I am to tell you—I told you in my last, that I had from Brandes (don't mention his name) a most satisfactory explanation of the Hanoverian affair, by which it appears plainly that the resolution of the electorate was solely dictated by the state of the Hanoverian finances and the probable expenses of the war, upon a question which was not clear in the law of the empire, and where the requisite formalities had not been observed. He adds, that now the war is concluded, and a good understanding established between the king of Prussia and the Emperor, the princes may hope for some *positive* assistance from Hanover. I did not observe till this moment, that this idea contradicts the other. It certainly does. Yet the ground taken in the Hanoverian politics is perfectly local, and B. assures me the dispositions of the regency are *most* favourable to the cause in general. I expect to receive to-day or to-morrow a pleasure, very unexpected till within these two days,—Brandes

comes all the way from Hanover on purpose to see me. He told me in his letter how much he wished that had been possible. The very day I received his letter expressing his intended visit, I was thinking of writing to him to try to make it possible for him to see me. Is not this fortunate? I have a right to be a little superstitious. Independently of the pleasure of seeing him, I much wished to be informed of what he, of all mankind, is best able to inform me of,—the exact state of the German courts, interests, and politics, a matter of no small moment at this period. Much as I lament the obstacles that have occurred, they do not deter me. We have a month or two to run about before the winter. The unfavourable state of affairs by no means inclines me to quit the cause; I see a possibility of success, and an aptitude in myself. I do think I have a talent for some kinds of negotiation; and though objects and persons of a different magnitude are now concerned, I do not know that the intrinsic difficulty is greater than one in which I once succeeded. In that I had upwards of twenty persons to deal with, most of whom were adverse, some determined not to comply, and the rest indifferent, and yet I succeeded. Here I have not twenty to deal with, and all of them, as I persuade myself, willing. It only remains to persuade them, or rather, to put them in the

way of effecting their own inclinations. My first step to this purpose must be a journey to London; some time is lost by that, and I would willingly avoid it, so that, if, in your conversation with Dundas, you find the ground very good, and can persuade them, really and effectively, however discreetly, to put their hand to this business, you might propose to them to confide it to me, and then I might receive your instructions here, and save near a month in my operations. In this case it would be (I believe) necessary for me to have regular powers, which, to do the business well, ought to be ample, and only controlled by private instructions, in which also I should be allowed a certain reasonable, discretionary latitude. All danger from the nature of the transaction and the uncertain disposition of my employers towards me, I would willingly risk. If you find Dundas at all costive or shy, push the subject of the French affairs no farther, but leave it to me to take my chance. But do not think him shy, if he is not. If they decide to do any thing in the way of explanation to Vienna, and to do it soon, send me an express. You said before I left you, that I should visit Vienna before I returned. Will it be so? Are you not glad that Brandes is coming to see me? Cazalès and I are growing very thick. He is a little out of humour; I did foresee that there would be ill-blood between the

"*Iliacos intra et extra.*" Here I must try my talents for conciliation. I part with Nagle with regret, but if things turn out according to one's speculation, he may return to me as an express. He has been an infinite consolation and comfort to me, though of no great use otherwise, except in copying what I inclose you. They say the Abbé Maury has been made a cardinal. If so, I give the pope credit. The good days of the Church are coming again, when energetic qualities are the sole recommendation. Adieu! Adieu! My love to my uncle and Mary, and above all to my mother, the Havilands, &c. &c. My purpose is to go to Frankfort on Tuesday; the excursion will be about a week; then I may expect an acknowledgment of my letter to Dundas, which will show me where I stand; and then probably in two or three days set off for England, stopping a day or two at Brussells, &c. &c.

R. B.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MONSIEUR.

Beconsfield, September 17, 1791.

SIR,

I cannot express my gratitude for one of the greatest honours which I have ever received, without expressing at the same time my sincere sorrow that it has its occasion from the greatest

calamity which Europe has ever suffered. It fills me with grief, amidst the satisfaction I feel in this flattering mark of your royal highness's goodness and condescension, that a person in your exalted situation should have occasion for any service from a stranger, and from a stranger so very inconsiderable as I am. But your zeal for the honour and safety of your royal brother, for the restoration of his brave and faithful nobility, of his venerable clergy, of his respectable magistracy, of his whole people,—ruined by being deprived of their natural protectors and leaders,—bestows a dignity on every thing your great mind submits to in this best of all causes. It is this noble principle which induces your royal highness to look with so much indulgence on the weakest efforts, from the most inconsiderable persons, when directed to the same object.

I am to assure your royal highness, that no man can be more desirous than I am, of taking, as far as my situation and duties will permit, an humble part in this good work; and it is my clear, certain, undoubting consciousness, that, in so doing, I consult the real advantage of my own sovereign, and of my own country, as well as the permanent benefit of mankind, which could alone have led me originally to engage, at a time of life which demands calm and repose of body and mind, in a business into which it is impossible

that a feeling man should not be exposed to very great agitations and painful vicissitudes of hope and apprehension.

I have the satisfaction, too, of assuring your royal highness that a great part, I think the far greater and better part, of this kingdom sympathizes with my feelings; that they detest the proceedings of the tyrannic and perfidious usurpation which oppresses France, and wish as cordially as I can do to see that kingdom restored to order and liberty, under a family distinguished for its benevolence and love to the people, which had used an unlimited power with the utmost tenderness and moderation, and which, when the general desire seemed to lead to a renovation of its ancient order of methodized liberty, was ready, and even forward, to exchange that ample power for public freedom and equal laws. As princes, you have all great glory in this conduct; as one of the people, I blush for what has followed.

I shall certainly obey with cheerfulness and alacrity your royal highness's commands, in forwarding, with my best advice, the objects of the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye's commission. I know him to be a man of fidelity and talents, and one whose known reputation will be of advantage to him in a country where bravery, honour, and virtue, are yet in estimation. Would to God that the success of his mission rested with me!

Permit me, sir, to express my most humble and respectful gratitude for the gracious reception which your royal highness has been pleased to give to my son. The homage he was ambitious of paying to the virtues of your royal highness, and of the Comte d'Artois, and his anxious affection for your cause, have been his sole motives to his journey to Coblentz.

Deign, sir, to accept of my humble assurances of the most devoted attachment. I have the honour to be, sir, your royal highness's most obedient and most respectful humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Wentworth, September 18, 1791.

DEAR BURKE,

I have ordered half a score ewes from Milton to Beconsfield, and accede to the proposal of your bargain; that, after the necessary performance of certain rites, one half shall remain at Beconsfield, and the other half return to Milton; but as to the length of their tails I engage for nothing; my shepherd has so long been a determined enemy to tails, that I am inclined to think the race of the

tails is extinct at Milton, and that we have none left but a species of Monboddos.

I thank you heartily for the pamphlet[5], and for the authorities you give me for the doctrines I have sworn by long and long since. I know not how long they have been my creed; I believe before even my happiness in your acquaintance and friendship, though they have certainly been strengthened and confirmed by your conversation and instruction. In support of these principles I trust I shall ever act, and I shall continue to attempt their general propagation; whether by the best means, is matter of speculation, but by the best according to my judgment. Nothing can make me a disciple of Paine or Priestly; nor anything else induce me to proclaim that I am not so, but in the mode I myself think the best to resist their mischief. Private conversation, and private insinuation, may best suit the extent of my abilities, the turn of my temper, and the nature of my character; and the best proof of wisdom is to accommodate modes to means; it is the only way of producing effect in ordinary hands. When I lament (and that I do so you will not doubt) certain declarations, I do no more than every man of our party, excepting, perhaps, an envious, mischievous individual or so. General esteem, the highest

[5] "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs."

opinion of abilities, honour, and integrity, render this sentiment general:—all that can be said is alas! No man feels it more than I do; I have no sentiment but regret for every thing that I have seen happen.

Adieu! Never hesitate one instant to doubt my affection, esteem, and admiration.

W. F.

I hope the account I hear is true, that Mrs. B. is much benefited by Margate, and feels the good effect since her return.

(PRIVATE [6].)

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

London, September 20, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I have received both your letters; I do not wonder at the anxious interest you take in the fate of

[6] This letter, though marked "private," was probably not meant to be kept secret. It conveys the sentiments of Mr. Dundas, and of the cabinet of which he was a member, such as they were at the time, regarding the interference of foreign powers in the affairs of France; and it enabled Mr. Richard Burke to contradict a mis-statement respecting the proceedings of the English cabinet towards the Emperor.

those with whom you now are. Independent of all other considerations, their situations as individuals must claim commiseration. You will naturally feel that my situation prevents me entering into any of the discussions you are so good as to lay before me. The line of the British government, to adhere to an honest and fair neutrality, being taken, and everywhere announced, it is impossible for any member of government to give way to the indulgence of any speculations on the subject of French affairs. I had a visit from your father this morning, and I took occasion to express to him my surprise at the contents of your last letter; never having heard, and at this moment not believing, that this country ever interfered, directly or indirectly, to prevent the Emperor moving any of his troops in any manner he pleased. I need not repeat to you again, that I cannot enter into the discussion of that subject; but I could not refrain saying this much in answer to your letter. I could say a great deal more, but I must not. When I see a single step that looks like any of those great powers taking a part, I shall believe it, but not till then,

I remain, dear sir, with great regard,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY DUNDAS.

DR. LAURENCE[7] TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Saturday, half after eleven,
September 24, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

You have not been gone a quarter of an hour, and I sit down to write to you agreeably to your request, not that I can suggest any thing which has not occurred to your own wisdom on the principal subject of your visit to town. There is, however, a collateral point, on which I feel very anxiously; especially as, from your son's present situation, it may, in the opinions of mankind, be in some sort connected with your reputation; I allude to the declaration which you have advised[8].

That some paper of the kind should be drawn immediately, and on the principles which you have transmitted, (such as I collected them from your conversation this morning,) should, I think, be pressed again and again, and almost made a positive condition with the princes. I do earnestly request, too, that you would, if you can, have it

[7] French Laurence, Esq., LL.D., a celebrated civilian, and member for Peterborough from 1796 to his death in 1809; an excellent man, a distinguished scholar, and an attached friend of Burke.

[8] An explanation of this expression will be obtained by referring to pages 273, 274, where Mr. Burke gives a sketch of what, in his opinion, ought to be the grounds for the interference of the European powers in the affairs of France.

submitted to yourself. But should that not be practicable, or not convenient, may I hint one thing to you, which seems to me important, and which I know not if you have pointed out in your letter to your son[9]. It is, the necessity, or propriety at least, of some promised adherence to the principles of the reform proposed in the king's declaration of June 23rd, 1789. I consider it, on the whole, and taken, in its substance, without entering into all the details, as a wise paper; and containing nothing which it would not be consistent with the king's real interests to lay before a new meeting of the states-general, summoned according to the ancient constitution; and this would be all that the present manifesto would have to do with that former declaration, to give an assurance that it should be so submitted. Only I am of opinion, that it might be of much service to the cause of the princes to insert in the manifesto, not merely a bare reference to the declaration of the 23rd of June, 1789, but a short, perspicuous, and compact summary of its principles, general scope, and tendency, which might pass over in silence some of the more objectionable regulations in the details. It should be particularly pointed out, that the custody of the public purse is there recognized to be in the states-general. The honour of the king, and the honour of the princes, are, in fact, both

[9] Viz.: of August 16th, 1791.

pledged to this paper. It was a voluntary step of the king, previous to any actual over-ruling violence of the democracy. It was, indeed, the project of Mr. Necker originally; but it was so altered (I think for the better) by the aristocratic party in the cabinet, that Necker would not give it any countenance, and did not attend the king when he went down to announce it to the assembly. On the contrary, the royal and aristocratical parties accompanied him in full force; and by this appearance, as well as by their alterations of it in the cabinet, made the measure their own. Now the only pretence of *necessity* urged by the democratical party against the damning evidence of this paper, is the supposed insincerity of the king and his friends. If the princes should fail in the enterprise now designed by them, the omission of all reference to that paper would furnish a retrospective presumption of their insincerity, at the time when they held it forth to the nation; while, on the other hand, a distinct reference to it would clear from all suspicion, and establish, against all cavil and all pretences, a paper on which, I think, the merits of the whole question relating to the actual conduct and designs of the two parties, and perhaps in a great degree the merits of the question in the abstract, whether there was such a political necessity as would justify force, most materially hinge. But suppose the princes to

succeed; whether they mention this paper or not in their manifesto, they must abide by the spirit of it, if they would not have it looked upon as a mere concession extorted by circumstances, and not what it seems to me to be, an act of liberal and enlightened wisdom; they must carry the substance of it, in some shape or other, into effect, if they mean to do what is in itself substantially right and just. No disadvantage then can, and much advantage may arise, from noticing this paper in the manifesto.

If you view this paper in the same light as I do, you have probably mentioned it to your son. If you have not adverted to it, let me entreat you to read it observantly; it is in the first volume of the *procès verbal* of the National Assembly, and has been printed separately at the royal press. You will then adopt my sentiments, or act as you shall see best. But, at any rate, I wish you to insist on some declaration agreeably to your own principles already communicated; otherwise, to withdraw your son: for I should be sorry if you should appear to the world to have interposed, and to have assisted in the restoration, not of the ancient orders of France to the actual exercise of their respective rights, under the original free constitution of their limited monarchy lately restored by the grace of the king himself, but in the re-establishment of the abuses of the absolute monarchy, which had

grown up from usurpations on the ancient constitution, and which were, in principle, actually abandoned by the convocation of the states-general. You will excuse my freedom, and believe me to be,

Ever most sincerely,

Your obedient humble servant,

F. LAURENCE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

September 26, 1791, Monday morning.

I WRITE to you from a consideration of the possibility that you have changed your mind, and are still at Coblentz.

An expression in the short note I received from Monsieur de Calonne makes me imagine that you are on your journey hither; though I was in hopes, from what you had written by Nagle, that you would not move until you should hear from us, and had left our judgment to operate on that measure; we still, either your uncle or myself, wrote to you, letter after letter, to desire you to stay at Coblentz, until we should see your presence to be more useful here than there. You might be sure, that though my hopes were not very lively, my endeavours would be continual. As soon as I got your letter, without losing a

moment's time, I went to Mr. Dundas. Disappointed in my expectation of meeting him at Wimbledon, last Sunday morning, (se'nnight) I stayed in town till Tuesday, when I saw him. We had some discourse, the result of which you have in a short letter from him, and a long one which, with several papers and letters, I sent by his packet. That letter informed you of the state of things to that moment. He recommended me to write the whole of the conversation I had with him, to Lord Grenville, then at Weymouth. It was Lord G.'s department; and I had reason to think the disposition of all the ministers pretty equally favourable to the cause, as far as they would go. It was something to know that they had never given the pretended answer to the Emperor's declaration. You will see presently, out of what materials that pretended answer was made. On my return to the country, I wrote to Lord Grenville. He received the letter on his way to town; and immediately on his arrival here, wrote to me in a very obliging manner, that he would be glad that I should talk over the matter with him and Mr. Pitt; that they dined without company, and would be glad to see me. I came to town that day, saw them, and dined with them. Our discourse continued until eleven o'clock. We talked the whole matter over very calmly, and it was discussed, on my part, as fully as my faculties

gave me leave to do. I found that there was no moving them from their idea of a neutrality; therefore, I did not labour this point. My view was to get over *practically* the difficulty which they made with regard to the solicitation of any other powers, which was contained in the declaration of Mr. Aust, (first clerk in Lord Grenville's office,) to the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye, made by Lord G.'s directions before his return to town; and which was, if I recollect right, contained in the king's letter to Monsieur, of which a copy was communicated to the chevalier. As to any thing to be done with regard to a solicitation of the Emperor, I soon found it fruitless to attempt it. Their ill opinion of his intentions seems immovable. They are convinced that he is resolved not to give the princes, at any time, any assistance whatsoever. I therefore thought, (what I had rolled in my mind before,) that the true place of application would be to the king of Prussia, who I am convinced is infinitely more in earnest than the Emperor. He has been led to take his part at the solicitation of the Emperor. He has declared himself a joint party with him. He has thrown off all appearance of neutrality, and put himself ill with the new power rising in France, at his original requisition; and he has a right to call upon the Emperor not to leave him in the lurch on account of difficulties thrown in his way by this court, which have no existence. I proposed that they

should, without appearing directly in it, send some person of confidence to Berlin, to suggest this to the king of Prussia, without going through the official channel; and for the execution of this plan, I proposed you, excluding the idea of any salary, gratuity, reward, or office whatsoever, or the promise or hope of such a thing. To this I had no answer. Our discussions were too extensive to admit my writing them to you; I wish rather to give you the result of them; and to tell you the temper in which I found and left the two ministers. They are certainly right as to their general inclinations;—perfectly so, I have not a shadow of doubt; but at the same time, they are cold and dead as to any attempt whatsoever to give them effect. Two causes seem to have produced in them this coldness: the first, that they seem to be quite out of all apprehensions of any effect from the French revolution on this kingdom, either at present, or at any time to come:—the next, their rooted opinion of the settled systematic ill disposition of the Emperor. As to the first, you know my fixed opinion; and I did not fail to lay the grounds upon which I formed it before them: as to the last, I referred it to their consideration, whether the conduct of the Emperor was not rather owing to some complexional inconstancy, and to the little occasional intrigues with the Louvre, than to any fixed, premeditated scheme of treachery. I am sure this is a fair hypothesis; and it is what

I believe to be true. They entertained an opinion, in which, whilst they condemned the Emperor for pretending it, (not thinking it his true motive for delay,) they concurred at bottom with him;—that is, that the present is not the fit time for acting;—that a bankruptcy, which appears inevitable, would ruin the assembly in the opinion of the stockholders and of the Parisians, and would create much discontent and confusion through the kingdom. I entered very fully into the effect of such a bankruptcy, particularly in the present state of the French funds;—that I expected no good from it, if it were even to happen at any assignable period;—that to make the invasion synchronize with that bankruptcy, might not be so easy;—that now they had Europe in a situation in which it never stood before, and might never be again;—a general peace among the powers, and a general good disposition to support the common cause of order and government. I found too, that they thought the Netherlands in such a situation, that it would not be safe for the Emperor to withdraw his army from them. I confess I never hear this without astonishment. I thought the danger to consist in his keeping so great an army inactive in that situation. I used your arguments, and many more that occurred to me; and on the whole discussion, I do not think a topic escaped me. They were patient and good-humoured; and to myself, personally, I

thought far from unfavourable. Every now and then I seemed to make an impression on them, and that not slightly; but the next morning, when the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye had his audience of Lord Grenville, in which he was well received, the general answer was just that which had been before given by Mr. Aust, without any variation whatsoever. In the conversation, Lord Grenville denied positively that he had put any thing like a condition on the Emperor, or any limitation whatsoever. That all he said was a mere opinion, stated in discourse with the imperial minister:—"that in the actual state of the Netherlands, it might not be expedient, for the general tranquillity, to leave them without troops." This, merely as the expression of a sentiment, without any sort of stipulation, expressed or implied. The Emperor is plainly at liberty, and his delay does not lie at our door. As to the Comte de Mercy, they told me that they had not had a single word of political conversation with him; that they did not shun it, but they left him to begin it; which, as he never did, they, on their part, said nothing. It was from me that they first learned that he attributed the Emperor's inaction (which he stated as a resolution) to the ambiguous conduct and language of our court. In none of their conversations about the Low-Country troops, did they, that I can find, say any thing of the *number* to be kept there. They left him to himself. They

declared a neutrality, I believe, as clearly and definitely, to the imperial minister, as they have done to the agent of the Bourbon princes. I am sorry it is so very literally a neutrality; but such as it is, *their having so completely disarmed*, is a proof worth ten thousand declarations, that they do not mean to give any assistance, directly or indirectly, to this French system; even if the imperial court could think our court unadvised enough to give its hand to the establishment of a fanatical democracy just at its door. The truth is, I am afraid, that the Emperor and some of his ministers, though they do not approve (as they cannot approve) of the destruction of the monarchy, are infinitely pleased with the robbery of the church property, and the humiliation of the gentry; and that, in that lust of philosophical spoliation and equalization, he forgets that he cuts down the supports of monarchy, and, indeed, destroys those principles of property, order, and regularity, for which alone any rational man can wish monarchy to exist. But the difference among the race who have got the present education, is only, whether the same robbery is to be committed by the despotism of an individual, or that of a multitude; and, therefore[9], that the Emperor has

[9] This sentence, as it stands, is incomplete, but will be rendered intelligible by referring to the words "I am afraid," in line 12 of this page.

made the parade of a threatening, and of a threatening only, that this vile assembly may be induced to treat, to secure some affluence and liberty to the king and queen, leaving the church robbed, and the nobility beggared and degraded. This is what we fear. It is what we ought to do our best to prevent, and to engage the Emperor in a system of politics more conformable to the true interests, rights, and duties, of sovereigns. I have read the declaration of the Bourbon princes. You have, if you are still at Coblentz, by this, a very rude sketch of a bill of rights, which ought to be agreed to in a general meeting of princes, nobles, and magistrates. I think it well penned, and in many points very right and proper. But the *ton* is not just what one would wish in all points. In some things it is dangerously defective. They ought to promise distinctly and without ambiguity, that they mean, when the monarchy, as the essential basis, shall be restored, to secure with it a free constitution; and that for this purpose they will cause, at a meeting of the states, freely chosen, according to the ancient legal order, to vote by order, all *Lettres de Cachet*, and other means of arbitrary imprisonment, to be abolished. That all taxation shall be by the said states, conjointly with the king. That responsibility shall be established, and the public revenue put out of the power of abuse and malversation; a canonical

synod of the Gallican church to reform all abuses; and (as unfortunately the king has lost all reputation) they should pledge themselves, with their lives and fortunes, to support, along with their king, those conditions and that wise order, which can alone support a free and vigorous government. Without such a declaration, or to that effect, they can hope no converts. For my part, for one, though I make no doubt of preferring the ancient course, or almost any other, to this vile chimera, and sick man's dream of government, yet I could not actively, or with a good heart and clear conscience, go to the re-establishment of a monarchical despotism in the place of this system of anarchy. I should think myself obliged to withdraw myself wholly from such a competition, and give repose to my age, as I should wish you to give other employment to your youth. I wish you to stay where you are; the Bintinnayes work well. They are steady, sensible, and have business-like heads, and are indefatigable. They are well received. They are preparing another memorial. We shall not be negligent; no stone will be left unturned. You may be infinitely more useful where you are; you have more resources and more activity than I have; but I have more authority *here*, and that turns the balance. But do as you please; I shall think it for the best.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Beconsfield, October 2, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

My son is come home, as you know; so that all our speculations on that subject are over. I shall send you, please God, to-morrow, your memorial, with our observations upon it. We like it, in substance, extremely well; but wish you to take no steps until you have seen him.

You mistook me very much, when you imagined that I was so much in the wrong, and so very rude and absurd, as to be unwilling that you should deliver an opinion upon a matter so deeply interesting to you, both as Frenchmen and as representatives. I wished nothing more than, for that time, to postpone a discussion not immediately necessary to the business in hand, and which I had myself prematurely started; and having very little leisure to spare, I wished strongly to impress you with the sole idea upon which I was unalterably fixed;—that is, the propriety and the policy of laying down some basis for the future settlement of France, by allying the monarchy with the sober liberty of the subject, and holding out some security to the people, that, after having changed a sort of despotism for a sort of anarchy, they

should not change back from anarchy to despotism. I only alluded to the business of June, 1789[1], as substantially furnishing some of the matter for such a basis; not as taking it up rigidly, and with all its faults and errors. Of this I never had the smallest notion, and nothing but my haste, and my misfortune of not speaking French well, could have caused this misunderstanding. I think, when we come to explain ourselves, we shall not differ in a single point. Believe me, however, that whether we agree or differ, in matters of political expediency, I can never for a moment differ from you and your brother in sentiment, nor cease at all, most sincerely to honour and love you both.

I am, my dear sir,

Most faithfully yours, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE, TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Duke-street, Thursday, October 13, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have given your letter, which I have just received from Beconsfield, to my son. He will give you all the satisfaction upon the matter of

[1] Viz.: the royal sitting of June 23, 1789, and the propositions made therein to the States General by the King.

your complaint which it is in our power to give. You ought to have had clearer instruction and better information. You ought to have had a provision for the necessary expenses of your mission. We are not the causes why you are not better enabled to execute your trust. I am not disposed to blame or to justify the princes, and those who are employed by them at Coblentz. But the distance of the place, and inevitable accidents, *I know*, have been the causes in part of your intercourse not having been as regular as might be wished. I have just heard that they have the same uneasiness at not hearing from you, that you have had at not hearing from them. Nothing has been wanting or shall be wanting on our part to a full explanation between you on that subject, or towards putting you in a way of a more satisfactory execution of your commission. They have already had my testimony of the fidelity, zeal, activity, and abilities with which you have conducted yourselves. You have had some mortifications, but not a thousandth part of those which have been endured by the agents at other courts, from which the friends to your cause had more to expect than here they have had; and they have not had the consolation which you enjoyed, of having, amongst foreigners, decided, faithful, warm, and affectionate friends, to whom, in all emergencies, they might unbosom themselves.

Has the Marquis la Quenille a better reception at Brussels, or a more satisfactory intercourse with ministers, or a more confidential friend amongst any of the Flemings? Your situation is a situation of difficulty, and nothing but great patience can carry you through it. You have had great merit in your exertions. Your progress has been greater, by far, than I originally hoped for, though still far from what I could wish; and I am most heartily sorry that you should desert your post at the beginning, and lose the just claim you have to be honoured and valued for essential services.

You have desired your recall. I hope for your own sake, and that of your cause, that you have not taken that step definitively. The reason you assign for it is, that my son has brought over Monsieur de Cazalès to supersede you,—a suspicion, idle, groundless, and most highly injurious to the honour and good sense of my son. What? That after recommending you to the princes for this employment, he should be capable of bringing over a person to set you aside! If neither of us can be civil to a man of consideration in your party, and thereby render him better disposed to a hearty co-operation in your common cause, without giving you a reason to throw up your employment, you may have daily cause for it.

When my son took the liberty of requesting you to undertake this mission, he did it because

he was fully of opinion, that you had talents and zeal fully adequate to the service, and that it would give you those opportunities of showing them, which might hereafter obtain you that consideration which is merited by patient and painful services. If your own dispositions do not lead you to continue in this course, my son and I have the consolation of knowing, that the loss which the service may suffer by your withdrawing yourself from it, is not owing to either of us. That no marks of friendship, attention, and respect, have, on our part, been wanting towards you and your brother personally, and that, dispersed as the ministers were when you arrived, there has not been the delay of an hour (no, literally not of an hour,) in introducing you and putting forward your cause, and partly by ways that you know, and partly by those with which it is not necessary to trouble you. In the disinterested part we actively take in this affair, we want no apology to any human creature. We have made many enemies here, and no friends, by the part we have taken. We have, for your sakes, mixed with those with whom we have had no natural intercourse. We have quitted our business, we have broken in upon our enjoyments. For one mortification you have endured, we have endured twenty. My son has crossed land and sea, with much trouble, and at an expense above

his means. But the cause of humanity requires it; he does not murmur; and he is ready to do as much and more for men whose faces he has not seen. In the name of God, my dear sir, follow your own ideas. But pray do not lay upon my son your quitting this kingdom, who never proposed to the princes that you should come hither with any view but the service of the cause, and your honour and estimation. If you have a mind either to live well with your friends, or effectually to serve your cause, you must not be ready to give an unfavourable construction to every appearance that you are not able to explain, or which, perhaps, cannot be explained to you.

Excuse a liberty which is, indeed, open and honest, but as full of respect and affection as of plainness. I am, my dear sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Beconsfield, November 2, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you very much for the answer to the queries. Present my humble respects to the

Vicomte de Cicé for his obliging attention to my wishes. He mistakes the word *rents*, which, with us, never signifies annuities paid by the state, or interest of money, but solely the annual payment made by those who hire land or houses. *Pensio solvenda domino fundi.* The drift of the question was to know, whether the rise of this rent or payment has been beyond the usual rate of the rise in the price of produce, in provision, &c., where the contract of letting was only for short terms. The purpose was, in this question as in all the rest, to bring to decision one *fact*:—whether the violence committed by the peasants was the effect of instigation by evil-minded persons, or a natural result of a desire in the people to revenge themselves upon those who they imagined had treated them hardly. I sent you by my brother a letter inclosed to me, and which came through the hands of the Spanish ambassador.

I have not courage to talk to you on the cursed conduct of the Emperor and his ministers. So much perfidy, pride, cruelty, and tyranny, never was exercised in a like case. My dear friends, patience is necessary, and I trust it will not be unfruitful.

Vincenda est omnis fortuna ferendo. You must bear the vices of your enemies, and the faults of your friends. Had your great people been wise,

regular, attentive, and vigilant, they never would have stood in need of my assistance or yours. Alas! the employment and use of virtue is to cure the evils brought on by vice and folly. God bless you both, and believe me perfectly and affectionately attached to your persons and your cause.

Your very faithful and obliged
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

My son is going for a few days northwards. Cannot we see you? The abbé has never been here.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, December 13, 1791.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

If you are called to Ireland[5], I wish you all success, and that the season were more favourable.

[5] Mr. Richard Burke had been appointed, in the preceding year, agent to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, being constituted their legal as well as political adviser on all points connected with the prosecution of their claims for admission to the privileges of the British constitution, by the removal of the existing penal laws. On his return from Coblentz in this

Thank you for your ransoming us. Christmas is a time of bills as well as pies, and that for many things.—I see that, without being able to perceive any thing distinct, there is a sort of rumour that forces were collecting on the Rhine. Can you get any light into that matter? Give the memorial from the pope's nuncio, which is in the hands of Cazalès, to John King, for Lord Grenville. It ought to be put into the newspapers. I know nothing of the pamphlet of the—(hang it, I forget his name) on a counter-revolution. It is the best thing I have seen a great while. I am afraid it is lost. I think I have given it to secretary King. I see Bintinnaye is mentioned amongst the absent navy-officers. Ought not he to be presented at court, and ought *viis et modis*[7]? No delay ought to be made, and surely Grenville ought to execute his intentions of being civil, and to invite him to dinner with his best company. This day's paper announces the bishop of St. Pol amongst the grand delinquents. Mrs. Haviland has a letter

year, he entered on the duties of his employment, and had several communications with the ministers on the affairs of his clients. He left England for Dublin early in the January following, and remained there until April, actively engaged in this business. In a letter to Mr. William Burke, written in August, 1792, and placed in this collection, he gives a short account of his proceedings. He has further described them in an able paper placed according to its date in this collection.

[7] Sic in orig.

from Paris denouncing them[6] as most contemptible in the eyes of all; but that government is strong indeed which can exist under contempt. But they have a king; he indeed is a part of the scheme still more contemptible. Adieu, my ever dear son, adieu! and God give you,—He alone can give you,—all you deserve from us all.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

December 15, 1791.

DEAR FATHER,

I have had a long and very satisfactory conversation with Hobart to-day. We should have immediately concluded, if I would have given up the right of franchise;—that, however, I shall yet carry. The measure of relief is certainly determined, the particular points will therefore be less difficult. They are convinced of the necessity of conciliating and gaining the Roman Catholics to the interests of government. This single principle goes a great way. It is a great change of things since you first remember Ireland. It will

[6] The ruling party.

be a great thing for me, if I can complete the work you have begun;—God knows how little more than fortune I can contribute to the success. But every circumstance is fortunate. The people with whom I am to deal have conceived an opinion of me. I have only time to say my love to all.

Yours,

R. B.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

December 15, 1791.

MY DEAREST,

Your uncle has had two very good nights after one bad day, and, thank God, is going on very well. He has written a very proper letter to Walker King about the foolish proceedings of the secretary's office with Mr. Debret's office and Mr. Perry's newspaper. Nothing can be added to their absurdity and to his good admonitions. Let Walker keep the letter, and let the under-secretary and young man make himself some control on the paramount indiscretion of his old principal.

The ministers in Ireland are mad, or think the Catholics so, in proposing an open rupture between them and the Protestant Dissenters, before the

state-church thinks fit to put those people so much upon a footing as to balance each other. But for them [7] to make an open quarrel with a great, perhaps the greatest, party in the country, for no other reason than that they [8] offer them the whole of what they themselves possess, whilst the others [9] are making a hard bargain, upon a most scanty and penurious distribution of what they have given, without any limit or measure whatsoever, to those with whom they have the folly to desire the others to quarrel, is too much to propose to rational creatures in their situation. It is what they would have accepted some time ago, because they would have done anything, with any consequences, for the slightest hope of the most trifling relaxation. But now they stand on the firm bottom of legal protection, and of several of the modes of acquiring and keeping property, and they can negotiate for the rest upon some terms consistent with common sense. You are perfectly in the right in every point. The government, if it has any political principle, must trust to its operation; the stipulation of those who have no corporate capacity is nonsense. What should hinder them, if they please, from shaking hands with the Dissenters to-morrow, whether they get the object

[7] The Roman Catholics.

[8] The Dissenters.

[9] The ministers in Ireland.

or not? But surely government will not be so absurd as to let it get wind that they are stipulating hostility with one set of the subjects against the other. Hitherto all relaxation of penalties proceeded on principles of *union*. They relaxed towards Dissenters to unite *Protestants*. They relaxed towards the Catholics to unite *subjects*. Union was always the plea. The plan of dividing to govern, if ever politic, must be so from necessity, and then conducted with a most profound secresy; otherwise, the attempt will be ungracious, odious, and, in the end, ineffectual. Union must still be the word. I shall possibly throw out a hint to you on this subject to-morrow; though I had rather have your order for the chaise, and that you brought the Bintinnayes with you. By the way, you ought to write to Calonne and to the princes. When you do, I will too send to Calonne. What means the Dutch treaty with the Emperor? What a wilderness and maze of errors is this!

I send you the bill of lading of a present of wine made to poor Mary [1] by a relation of her's, with an exceedingly good-natured letter from Lisbon. He says the wine is of an extraordinary sort. You will give directions about it. Your mother's and uncle's love, and that of the Carews. Adieu! adieu!

[1] Mrs. Haviland.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

December 16, 1791.

GOD send you success; your cause is very good. If you give liberty to two millions of people in your way, you will give it to them in a manner very different from that in which it is said five-and-twenty millions have obtained it in another place. You have obtained confidence and good opinion from those you treat with; and that, in every transaction, is half the business. It is the natural effect of the soundness of your judgment and the candour of your proceedings. Your plan is the very reverse of that which the Dissenters hold out to the Catholics. Theirs goes to alter the representation, whilst it lets the Catholics into a share in the new acquisition. This of yours lets them into the House without altering the structure materially; and whatever change it makes, affects only those newly admitted; and that, too, not by rendering the platform more democratic. It tends rather to carry it far into the aristocratic mode of election. You are aware that at present there are not probably two hundred people in the whole kingdom who can take advantage of the franchise, because almost all the old freeholders had been

worn out during the reign of the penalties. No new could be made during that period. But a few years have elapsed since they were made capable; and since that time none were made but considerable purchasers. This I know seems to cut both ways; but you are not to neglect to use it with discretion. The principal reason for which I hint it to you is, that you may not go too far in raising the qualification, as it may reduce the importance to be acquired by the franchise in proportion; in a manner, indeed, to nothing. Five pound freehold is more than double the Protestant qualification; and if you annex to all voters not exceeding that sum the *bonâ fide* renting of a farm of twenty pounds a year, this will be more than sufficient to prevent occasionality and qualification merely for voting. I do not think you ought to carry either part of the qualification higher. This will be sufficient to quiet all real apprehensions. The feigned apprehensions of monopoly and malignity nothing can quiet. I do not know whether you exclude them from corporate towns. The power of voting in them, too, must take place sooner or later,—perhaps the earlier the better. Suppose that not above a certain number (say a fourth) were to be made capable of bearing a corporate office,—I mean the fourth of the aldermen, common-councilmen, &c. &c.—it would be a long time before one-twentieth could *de facto*

obtain it; but the capacity would wholly change their condition.

Your uncle has had two excellent nights, and strengthens apace. Your mother is, bating occasional stiffness, very well, and so is Mary.

Send the inclosed. It is on your credit that I call this gentleman the pope's nuncio. If he be not, the letter must be stopped. I thought this one of the good opportunities of writing my thoughts once more. What does our ministry say to the alliance which the assembly hold out to France and Europe? The fraud here seems ridiculous. There, and in other nations, it will have its effect. They will find it one day causing an alliance very real.

You must pay the foreign postage, and get it carefully put in. It can't go till Tuesday.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Whitehall, December 25, 1791.

SIR,

I have very maturely considered the different particulars which passed in conversation between us yesterday forenoon; and in compliance with your request, take the first opportunity of intimating to

you, that Mr. Hobart[2] sets out immediately for Ireland, furnished with a full communication of the sentiments of his majesty's confidential servants, relative to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland will, in consequence thereof, take the proper steps on the subject, and will very speedily communicate to the Roman Catholics the determination of government respecting the representations they have made. I must, therefore, refer you to the government of Ireland for any further communications you may wish to hold on this subject. I think it necessary, however, to assure you, that you will do me much injustice if you think that my forbearing to enter into any further particulars with yourself proceeds from any want of personal respect for you; and above all, I must entreat you to believe that the steps we have taken for the conduct of this business, are those which occur to us as the most likely to bring this important question to a happy conclusion. I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

[2] Afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire;—at this time Secretary for Ireland, the Earl of Westmoreland being Lord-Lieutenant.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

January 8, 1792.

MY EVER DEAR RICHARD,

I have written to you but twice since your departure. My first was by Mr. Fitzherbert. It contained little more than to tell you that we were all well, and to thank you for the comfortable letter, for so much, that we received from you from Holyhead. The second was pretty long, and contained such reflections as occurred to me on the subject of your journey. It is a matter on which I am doubly anxious,—on its own account, and on account of your concern in it. I wish most earnestly that you may achieve this advantage, which I broke off in the middle and "left half told —the story of Cambuscan bold." You are, I hope, the Spenser who will bring it to a happy conclusion. I have seen the address of the Roman Catholic protesters. It puts me in mind strongly of the spirit of those who called themselves protesting Catholic dissenters here, who were infinitely hurt that they were not able to make a schism in their short and narrow jacket, but were obliged to take up a benefit upon terms in common with their brethren, from whom it was no trivial part

of the object of their application to be distinguished, and with as much odium to those they were divided from as possible. I do not know whether it arises from my anxiety, but I consider that address as mischievous to your design, and that in the highest possible degree. It is full of the most malignant insinuations. It insinuates that there were some persons (who could be no other than those who composed the meeting in which the addressers were out-voted,) whose conduct ought to be thus formally disavowed. It insinuates that there may be some reasons of state, which, without specifying or hinting at it, they presume may exist, for denying the requests which shall be made to parliament; thus teaching their enemies undefined suspicions and exceptions beforehand; and lastly, they strongly insinuate, if they do not as much as declare, that though they should obtain little, or even nothing at all, they will be perfectly satisfied. If they did no more than slur the society to which they belong, their crime would be of the blackest hue. If, however, others do not look in that light upon what has been done, so much the better. Temper with them is much; with you it is almost every thing. Whatever your inward sentiments may be, all without ought to bear as great an appearance of neutrality as you can give yourself. It suits with the mediatorial character in which it is best for you to appear;

and it will not relax your vigour in pursuit of your objects.

So far as to the proceedings of the Catholics in the business of the address. As to government, I cannot yet believe the Irish part to wish well to the relief desired, because this last step was taken after it was well known to them that Mr. H., their principal member, was sent for to England on this very business; and it would be natural for them to suspend all proceeding until his return. The address to be sure was theirs. Instead of wishing the demand to be as large as with propriety it could be, that they might have something to reduce in compliance with the desire of those they desired to bring over, by this address they plainly wish to fight off with the Catholics, and to get as little for them as possibly they can. Whether the committee[3] thinks it right to address before the session, or to wait and make one work by their petition (which may be the best course), I think they ought to be explicit; not so much on the mode of answer or controversy, but as positive declaration, that they have nothing to disclaim or disavow on their own part, or that of their brethren of any consideration. That they wish to subject their conduct to the strictest scrutiny, whether as loyal and affection-

[3] *i. e.* The R. C. Committee.

ate subjects to the best of sovereigns, or as sober, peaceable, and useful members of society; that in these particulars they are sure they would rank with any others, either of their own description or of any description. That full of consciousness of the innocence of their lives, and the goodness of their intentions, it was not for them to suppose any reasons of state for continuing them under the restraints of penal statutes; because penalties must suppose, if not crimes, at least just causes of suspicion. To lie under those criminal suspicions would be still more grievous to them than the penalties themselves. That it would not be believed, if they should assert that they were perfectly contented to be considered in a doubtful light of fidelity and loyalty, either to the king or to the constitution of their country; or that they were happy to be excluded from the common rights and privileges of British and Irish subjects. That they are as far from that foolish hypocrisy, as they are from an unthankful disposition for what is past; from a want of grateful acceptance of whatever may be given; or from a want of submission and patient waiting on the times and conveniences of the legislature, from whose free goodness alone they look for the further alleviation of their sufferings. This is not the less modest and peaceable for being clear, open, and manly. Of all this, however, you will best judge

who are on the spot. If government is perfectly in earnest, every thing ought to be made smooth for them. If you find the Roman Catholics irreconcileable to each other, and that government is resolved to side with those, or rather to direct those, who would betray the rest, then my clear opinion is, that you ought not to wait the playing the last card of a losing hand. It would be disreputable to you. But when you have given your instructions to the very few in whom you can place confidence for their future *temperate and persevering* proceeding, (as this business may be the work of more sessions than one, and may find more favourable conjunctures,) that you will, with a cool and steady dignity, take your leave. Don't learn too eager pursuits from me. Be content to have done your best, and leave the rest to the disposer of events. "Laudandaque velle—Sit satis, et nunquam successu crescat honestum[4]." This is the answer;—adieu! We are all well, and have but one wish in the world. God bless you again and again, my only pride, hope, consolation. Adieu!

Your ever affectionate father,

E. B.

My former letter was directed as this is, under cover, to F. Kiernan, at the Custom House.

[4] Lucan, Phars. 9. 571.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

January 13, 1792.

MY DEAR RICHARD,

I write this to you by the Comte O'Kelly, who had been the French minister at Mentz, but who lately resigned his employments on things being brought to extremities with the princes and nobility of France. He is a well-bred, sensible man, and by his late conduct shows that he is a man of honour and principle. He has been lately at Paris. I don't at all like his account of things, nor indeed their aspect in any point of view, with regard to the unhappy party we are inclined to wish well to. Cazalès quitted this yesterday under a strong, and, I believe, unaffected feeling with regard to us, and with every evil presage with regard to the country, having no sort of hope of a change; or, if he could indulge in such a hope, having a bad prospect of any satisfactory effect from it. I think very well of Cazalès; and O'Kelly tells me that he is known to be a valuable man in his private life as well as his public, and much loved wherever he is known. I had a long but not very satisfactory conversation with

J. King; not on his own account, or indeed with regard to the general right disposition of ministers with regard to home affairs; but they are, with regard to foreign, so full of fears and apprehensions, that I think their operation on them has an effect very little different from a determined hostility to the cause. They have let the king of Prussia slip out of their hands, and they are far from countenancing or using the slightest endeavour to gain Russia, or to keep the king of Prussia in check. I do not know one power upon the continent upon whom they can count. But this unpleasant state of French affairs I pass over. I send you, with this, a letter, which Lady Charlotte Wentworth sent me to be transmitted to you. I send you also her letter, to let you see that Pelham is still acting the part of a runner to the French revolution, and endeavouring every where, by various rumours and idle expectations, to reconcile the minds of people to it. As to your affair, which touches us more nearly, I find, on comparing various accounts, that the opposition to it is chiefly in the Castle itself, and that the point against which they set their faces most strongly, is the representation. They say that they would cheerfully give up the bar, and would open the army and navy; but that to the last they never would consent. For this, I do not find that H.[5] gave any sort of reason. But the

[5] *viz.* Mr. Hobart.

reason is evident enough. The Castle faction, by having commissions now and then to give to this or to that man amongst the papists, would completely gain this or that man, and dispose him to dupe, or to disavow his brethren, but the votes of independent men of property might sometimes give them trouble, and never could be of service to them in any job. They would go into the general mass of the feelings and interests of the country. The reason which induces the Castle to prefer the places to the representation is the cause, too, that they find a few gentlemen who might, in their families and dependencies, profit of the job, but who could get little of any thing which they are used to feel, by the representation. When I found that the Castle had been set on this, and talked with contempt of Keogh[6], and said, that the general wishes of the Catholics were not to be taken from him; I did justice to Keogh and said what I thought, that it were well for government if they had many men of such abilities to serve them, in which King agreed with me, thinking highly of the man. When I had done that justice, I then said, that whoever pretended to tell me that any people on earth existed that should not wish to be on as good a footing as others in their community, or were pleased with exclusions and incapacities, all he did was to convince me that he had a poor idea of my under-

[6] Secretary to the R. C. Committee.

standing, and did not a little less than [7] affront me. I find that Hobart does not at all like you being concerned in the business; and in that idea, I should not be surprised if he did all he could, underhand, to lessen you in the opinion and confidence of those who employ you, as well as with others. But, by this time, you are at the bottom of all this, and you will see whether it is more prudent for your cause, and safe for your personal dignity, (things that ought never to be separated,) to continue where you are, or to come hither, and solicit where you are sure of being heard at least with respect, and where you may withdraw to quiet, or to remain where you are without proper weight and consideration, as you must do where you are. If you do not speedily see something fundamental settled, you must sink into the character of a mere common solicitor. If the Castle do not wish you as a friend and mediator, they will soon reduce you, for it is completely in their power, into the former situation, and that too with the disadvantage of being an *unsuccessful* solicitor. Let me know whether you have received four letters from me, all directed to Frank Kiernan. May God bless you! Throw this into the fire.

Your ever affectionate father,

E. B.

[7] *i. e.* almost.

PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

January 21, 1792.

My dear Mr. Burke,

I am sure I need make no apology for requesting you to assist me in an act of piety and gratitude to the memory of one of the best and most learned men of his time, the late Mr. George Thicknesse[8]. In the narrow sphere allotted to him, I can affirm with certainty, that it was impossible to exhibit greater qualifications of every kind, or to do more good to mankind, than he did. Judge not of his learning and abilities, though you may of his virtue and wisdom, by the obscurity in which he passed this life, and escaped out of it. *Natus moriensque fefellit.*

[8] Formerly Head Master of St. Paul's School, which situation he resigned June, 1769. The Mercers' Company, who, under Dean Colet's will, are patrons of the school, had so high an esteem for him, that they gave him the nomination of his successor, and settled on him an annuity of 100 guineas. He was born in 1713-14, and died December 23, 1790. His father, John Thicknesse, was rector of Farthinghoe, in Northamptonshire; his brother Philip married Lady Elizabeth Touchet, through whom his descendants have inherited the barony of Audley.

He claimed no honour from descent of blood;
But that which made him noble, made him good.

In the little circle of his friends, I never knew a man so much respected. By his scholars universally he was beloved and reverenced. Even they who neglected his instructions, or forgot his precepts, were tenderly and dutifully attached to his person. Your friend Hickey has succeeded in the bust beyond my expectation; considering that he had nothing but a very indifferent old picture to copy from, and had never seen the original. The performance does him so much credit, and he has taken such pains with it, that we, the managers, are perfectly satisfied, and have agreed, for his honour, to let it appear at the exhibition, before it is erected in the school. Some of us pretended scholars have been humming our brains for an inscription; but what signifies malleation without fire? Be so good as to lend us a little of yours. One of the faults of the inclosed essays is, that it is too long for the tablet. Do see if you can mend it, or make it better; and let me have your answer by to-morrow or Monday's post. All this family, jointly and severally, desire their most affectionate duty, and dutiful affection, to be presented to Mrs. Burke and yourself.

Yours abundantly,

P. FRANCIS.

P.S.—Observe, we are obliged to mix the honours of the school with the eulogy of one of its greatest masters, of whom, Lilly was the first, appointed by Dean Colet.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUNIOR, ESQ.

January 26, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

Though we should be happy in hearing from you often, yet when we know that you are well, the first object of our wish is accomplished. We should hear from you if you had any thing pleasant to tell. Though we have nothing from you, we hear on all hands that the Castle has omitted nothing to break that line of policy which government has pursued as opportunity offered from the beginning of the present reign:—that, I mean, of wearing out the vestiges of conquest, and settling all descriptions of people on the bottom of one protecting and constitutional system. But by what I learn, the Castle has another system, and considers the outlawry (or what at least I look on as such) of the great mass of the people as an unalterable maxim in the government of Ireland. If I considered only the interest of that mass of

the people, I should be indifferent about their loss of their just, rational, and wise object of pursuit during this session. They *will* have it, because the nature of things *will* do it. What vexes me is, that it will not be done in the best, the most gracious, the most conciliatory, and the most politic mode. In the present state of Europe, in which the state of these kingdoms is included, it is of infinite moment that matters of grace should emanate from the old sovereign authority. The harmony of the two kingdoms requires that the king's government should not stand chargeable with any thing proscriptive or oppressive, or which leans with a weight of odium and prejudice on any quiet description of his subjects. Above all, it requires that no harsh measure should seem the result of any unalterable principle of his government;—for that would be to leave the people no hope from that quarter, from which alone I should wish them to hope every thing. But I shall not trouble you or myself further with what neither you nor I can help.

Cazalès goes off shortly. His spirits have been greatly sunk;—I do not wonder at it. The madness, the wickedness, the malice, and the folly, of the greatest part of Germany, is not to be expressed. The Duke of Wurtemburgh takes the lead in Suabia against the persecuted nobility of France, who are hunted from place to place like

so many wild boars. The Bintinnayes are well, but in the same state of dejection as Cazalès.

I wish that in the unpleasant view of public affairs, we were compensated by any thing cheerful with regard to our narrower circle. Thank God! with regard to this house, all is well, or perhaps better than you left it. Your mother, your uncle, and all of us, in the best health. Our poor friend Sir Joshua declines daily. For some time past he has kept his bed. His legs, and all his body, swell extremely; yet his physicians are by no means sure that the case is dropsical. I have been twice called to town by very alarming letters from poor Miss Palmer, who feared that the worst was more nearly at hand than it was. I returned from my second journey yesterday. He was somewhat better when I left town, and this morning we had an account of the event of the day after I had left him. He still continued in appearance to mend. The swelling had abated. He takes great doses of laudanum. At times he has pain; but for the most part he is tolerably easy. Nothing can equal the tranquillity with which he views his end. He congratulates himself on it as a happy conclusion of a happy life. He spoke of you in a style which was affecting. I don't believe there are any persons he valued more sincerely than you and your mother. Surely it is well returned by you both. Mary and the captain salute you, and the

friends they know in Dublin. Your mother's affectionate blessing. May God always protect you!

Ever, ever, my dearest Richard,

Your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER AND ABBÉ DE LA BINTINNAYE.

January 27, 1792.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

Chevalier and Abbé de la Bintinnaye! I send you an infamous paper, further to exercise your admirable patience. But my chief view is, that it should exercise your excellent talents. It is written, I strongly suspect, by a person of importance enough to require some notice to be taken of it. I think it lies open to a satisfactory and manly answer, and the Chevalier may owe it to the *manes* of the fallen nobility, for whom, after having shed his blood, he has given up his inadequate reward, to put his name to his own defence and theirs. The attack is *obliquely* upon me,—*directly* on the *noblesse* of France; the next, I conjecture, will be on the clergy. Never did I see so much base and ungenerous malignity in any piece. I

think the reflections on it obvious. Whilst so many are suppliant at courts where they are betrayed, and the rest hunted like wild beasts from place to place, through Germany and the Netherlands, it will be glorious to you two, in a country where, though you are not considered according to your merits, you are yet free, and may act the part of men, to defend your persecuted countrymen, fellow-nobles, and fellow-citizens. The newspapers, almost without exception, even those paid by Monsieur de Calonne, are not your friends. In such a state what remains to a man? Himself. I shall write to Du Pont, if he be still in England, to come to town, and to exert himself in the defence of his own corps. I cannot spend the remainder of my life in conflicts. I am entitled to my ease. Yet if you will be so good to come hither, where you shall be as retired as you please, and as much your own masters, I shall cheerfully give you my best thoughts on what you are doing. Believe me, no person can be more attached to your cause, can have more pity for your sufferings, or more love and esteem for your persons and your family, than I have. Adieu! and believe me most sincerely and affectionately,

Yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO WILLIAM WEDDELL[9], ESQ.

Beconsfield, January 31, 1792,
Late at night.

MY DEAR SIR,

Not less than twenty times, I very believe, have I taken up my pen to write to you something which was suggested to me by your most friendly and obliging letter. But because I had too much to say, I have said nothing at all. Your letter, indeed, did not absolutely require an answer. My best thanks were certainly your due; but I hoped that the same partial goodness which dictated your letter, would presume that I entertained becoming and natural sentiments on your conduct towards me under the dereliction of so many of my old acquaintance. To thank you was all that I was called upon to do; and, for not doing this, I stand in need of some apology. But, as, along with your friendly expressions of personal kindness, some topics were touched upon that made

[9] M.P. for Malton. He had married a sister of Sir John Ramsden, whose half-sister was married to Lord Rockingham. He died in 1792, his widow in 1831, having long enjoyed the affection and respect of all who knew her.

an impression on my mind, so many thoughts crowded upon me, both with relation to the party by which I had been disclaimed, and with relation to the country with which my ties cannot be dissolved, that I feared, if I should touch upon them, I should be drawn on to write, not a long letter, but a tedious dissertation.—"Whilst I was on the Terrace of Windsor, I little thought of what was going on at York."—Most certainly I did not. As to the reception of Mr. Fox, with all the circumstances of honour according to their several modes, by the Corporation and the people of York, if this had been done to efface the impressions which had been made upon many by the conduct of several persons in that city and county in the year 1784, I should have been exceedingly pleased [1]. I should have found but one thing to regret, which was, that their returning sentiments

[1] Mr. Burke refers to the presentation of the freedom of the city of York to Mr. Fox—"At a meeting of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, &c. &c. at the Guildhall, August 26, 1791. Resolved:—

"That the freedom of this city be presented to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in a gold box of the value of fifty guineas, as a proof of the high respect and sincere gratitude of this Corporation, for the constant and beneficial exertion of his brilliant and unrivalled abilities in support of the British Constitution, upon the true principles of the glorious Revolution, of the just rights of every degree of citizens, and the peace, liberty, and happiness of mankind."

of approbation did not extend further. I should have thought, if that had been the object of those demonstrations of their attachment to Mr. Fox, it would not have been amiss if they had shown some marks of respect, at the same time, to yourself, to Lord John Cavendish, and to Mr. Foljambe[2]. The assertion of the principles, at that time common to us all, and the circumstances of the county and city at that crisis, would have given a more *local* propriety to expressions of sorrow, with regard to mistakes into which their province had fallen, in common with a large part of the nation in other quarters. But they were not guilty of any omission at all; because they had nothing less in their view than the transactions of 1784. Instead of looking to that period, the memory of which had not been obliterated by a very long prescription, they forgot what passed before their own eyes not above seven years from that time, and flew back to the history of what had happened an hundred years before. But they were not such mere antiquarians as they seemed to be. In their unprecedented compliment to

[2] Lord John Cavendish had long represented the city of York, Mr. Foljambe had represented the county for a short time, since the death of Sir George Savile. They were both defeated at the general election in 1784. Mr. Weddell himself was a candidate for the county at that election, with Mr. Foljambe.

Mr. Fox for governing his conduct by the true principles of the revolution, they plainly alluded to a transaction not quite an hundred years old. He is the first private man to whom such a compliment, I am persuaded, has ever been made. It must have a reference to something done or said relative to the principles of the revolution; and if I were dull enough to mistake what that doing and saying was, I should be the only man in England who did not perfectly enter into it. When I combined all the circumstances, though I wish Mr. Fox all other modes of honour, I cannot say that I was not concerned at this event. It was not just at York (where I was with Lord Rockingham at those very races twenty-six years before, and there first had any acquaintance in that county,) that I apprehended, in the praises of another, I should have found an oblique censure, and the first vote against me amongst the judges to whom I had addressed my appeal. That, too, must go with the rest.

In that piece[3], I have quite satisfied my own conscience; and I have done what I thought due to my own reputation, so far as the public is concerned. Now let me say a word to you, on what would not have been so proper to say to the public, as it regards the particular interests of the

[3] "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," published in 1791.

party, and my conduct towards them and their leader, Mr. Fox.

As to the party which has thought proper to proscribe me on account of a book which I published on the idea, that the principles of a new, republican, frenchified Whiggism, were gaining ground in this country, I cannot say it was written *solely* with a view to the service of that party. I hope its views were more general. But I am perfectly sure this was *one* of the objects in my contemplation; and I am hardly less sure, that (bating the insufficiency of the execution) it was well calculated for that purpose; and that it had actually produced that effect upon the minds of all those at whose sentiments it is not disrespectful to guess. Possibly it produced that effect without that exception. Mr. Montagu [4] knows, many know, what a softening towards our party it produced in the thoughts and opinions of many men in many places. It presented to them sentiments of liberty which were not at war with order, virtue, religion, and good government; and though, for reasons which I have cause to rejoice that I listened to, I disclaimed myself as the organ of any party, it was the general opinion that I had not wandered very widely from the sentiments of those with whom I was known to be so closely connected. It was indeed then, and it

[4] Vide vol. i. p. 355.

is much more so now, absolutely necessary to separate those who cultivate a rational and sober liberty upon the plan of our existing constitution, from those who think they have no liberty, if it does not comprehend a right in them of making to themselves new constitutions at their pleasure.

The party with which I acted had, by the malevolent and unthinking, been reproached, and by the wise and good always esteemed and confided in, as an aristocratic party. Such I always understood it to be, in the true sense of the word. I understood it to be a party, in its composition, and in its principles, connected with the solid, permanent, long-possessed property of the country; a party which, by a temper derived from that species of property, and affording a security to it, was attached to the ancient tried usages of the kingdom; a party, therefore, essentially constructed upon a ground-plot of stability and independence; a party, therefore, equally removed from servile court compliances, and from popular levity, presumption, and precipitation.

Such was the general opinion of the substance and original stamina of that party. For one, I was fully persuaded that the spirit, genius, and character of that party *ought* to be adopted, and, for a long time, I thought *was* adopted, by all the *new* men who in the course of time should be aggregated to that body; whether any of

these *new* men should be a person possessed of a large fortune of his own creating; or whether the *new* man should be (though of a family long decorated with the honours and distinctions of the state,) only a younger brother, who had an importance to acquire by his industry and his talents;—or whether the *new* man should be (as was my case,) *wholly* new in the country, and aimed to illustrate himself and his family by the services he might have the fortune to render to the public. All these descriptions of new men, and more, if more there are, I conceived, without any formal engagement, by the very constitution of the party, to be bound with all the activity and energy of minds animated and awakened by great hopes and views, to support those aristocratic principles, and the aristocratic interests connected with them, as essential to the real benefit of the body of the people, to which all names of party, all ranks and orders in the state, and even government itself, ought to be entirely subordinate. These principles and interests, I conceived, were to give the bias to all their proceedings. Adhering to these principles, the aspiring minds that exalt and vivify a party, could not be held in too much honour and consideration:—departing from them, they lose more than they can gain. They lose the advantages which they might derive from *such* a party, and

they cannot make it fit for the purposes for which they desire to employ it. Such a party, pushed forward by a blind impulse, may for some time proceed without an exact knowledge of the point to which it is going. It may be deluded; and, by being deluded, it may be discredited and hurt; but it is too unwieldy, both from its numbers and from its property, to perform the services expected from a corps of light horse.

Against the existence of any such description of men as our party is in a great measure composed of,—against the existence of any mode of government on such a basis, we have seen a serious and systematic attack attended with the most complete success, in another country, but in a country at our very door. It is an attack made against the thing and against the name. If I were to produce an example of something diametrically opposite to the composition, to the spirit, to the temper, to the character, and to all the maxims of our old and unregenerated party, something fitted to illustrate it by the strongest opposition, I would produce—what has been done in France. I would except nothing. I would bring forward the principles; I would bring forward the means; I would bring forward the ultimate object. They who cry up the French revolution, cry down the party which you and I had so long the honour and satisfaction to be-

long to. "But that party was formed on a system of liberty." Without question it was; and God forbid that you and I should ever belong to any party that was not built upon that foundation. But this French dirt-pie,—this its hateful contrast, is founded upon *slavery;* and a slavery which is not the less slavery, because it operates in an inverted order. It is a slavery the more shameful, the more humiliating, the more galling, upon that account, to every liberal and ingenuous mind. It is, on that account, ten thousand times the more destructive to the peace, the prosperity, and the welfare, in every instance, of that undone and degraded country in which it prevails.

My party principles, as well as my general politics and my natural sentiments, must lead me to detest the French revolution, in the act, in the spirit, in the consequences, and most of all, in the example. I saw the sycophants of a court, who had, by engrossing to themselves the favours of the sovereign, added to his distress and to the odium of his government, take advantage of that distress and odium to subvert his authority and imprison his person; and passing, by a natural progression, from flatterers to traitors, convert their ingratitude into a claim to patriotism, and become active agents in the ruin of that order, from their belonging to which they had derived all the opulence and power of their families.

Under the auspices of these base wretches, I had seen a senseless populace employed totally to annihilate the ancient government of their country, under which it had grown, in extent, compactness, population, and riches, to a greatness even formidable; a government which discovered the vigour of its principle, even in the many vices and errors, both of its own and its people's, which were not of force enough to hinder it from producing those effects. They began its destruction by subverting, under pretext of rights of man, the foundations of civil society itself. They trampled upon the religion of their country, and upon all religion;—they systematically gave the rein to every crime and every vice. They destroyed the trade and manufactures of their country. They rooted up its finances. They caused the greatest accumulation of coin, probably ever collected amongst any people, totally to disappear as by magic; and they filled up the void by a fraudulent, compulsory paper-currency, and a coinage of the bells from their churches. They possessed the fairest and the most flourishing colonies which any nation had perhaps ever planted. These they rendered a scene of carnage and desolation, that would excite compassion and remorse in any hearts but theirs. They possessed a vast body of nobility and gentry, *amongst* the first in the world for splendour, and the *very*

first for disinterested services to their country; in which I include the most disinterested and incorrupt judicature (even by the confession of its enemies) that ever was. These they persecuted, they hunted down like wild beasts; they expelled them from their families and their houses, and dispersed them into every country in Europe; obliging them either to pine in fear and misery at home, or to escape into want and exile in foreign lands; nay, (they went so far in the wantonness of their insolence,) abrogated their very name and their titular descriptions, as something horrible and offensive to the ears of mankind.

The means by which all this was done leaves an example in Europe never to be effaced, and which no thinking man, I imagine, can present to his mind without consternation;—that is, the bribing of an immense body of soldiers, taken from the lowest of the people, to an universal revolt against their officers, who were the whole body of the country gentlemen, and the landed interest of the nation, to set themselves up as a kind of democratic military, governed and directed by their own clubs and committees!

When I saw all this mingled scene of crime, of vice, of disorder, of folly, and of madness, received by very many here, not with the horror and disgust which it ought to have produced, but with

rapture and exultation, as some almost supernatural benefit showered down upon the race of mankind; and when I saw that arrangements were publicly made for communicating to these islands their full share of these blessings, I thought myself bound to stand out, and by every means in my power to distinguish the ideas of a sober and virtuous liberty, (such as I thought our party had ever cultivated,) from that profligate, immoral, impious, and rebellious licence, which, through the medium of every sort of disorder and calamity, conducts to some kind or other of tyrannic domination.

At first I had no idea that this base contagion had gained any considerable ground in the party. Those who were the first and most active in spreading it, were their mortal and declared enemies; I mean the leading dissenters. They had long shown themselves wholly adverse to, and unalliable with, the party. They had shown it, as you know, signally, in 1784. At the time of the Regency, (which, when Price's sermon appeared [5], was still green and raw,) they had seized the opportunity of divisions amongst the great, to bring forward their democratic notions; and the

[5] This Sermon was preached on the 4th November, 1789, at the Old Jewry Meeting House to the Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain, by Richard Price, D.D., &c.

object against which they chiefly directed their seditious doctrines, and the passions of the vulgar, was your party; and I confess they were in the right in their choice; for they knew very well, that, as long as you were true to your principles, no considerable innovations could be made in the country; and that this independent embodied aristocracy would form an impenetrable fence against all their attempts to break into the constitution. When I came to town [6], though I had heard of Dr. Price's sermon, I had not read it. I dined the day of my arrival with our friend Dr. Walker King; and there, in a large and mixed company, partly composed of dissenters, one of that description, a most worthy man, of learning, sense, and ingenuity, one of the oldest and best friends I had in the world, and no way indisposed to us, lamented that the dissenters never could be reconciled to us, or confide in us, or hear of our being possessed of the government of the country, as long as we were led by Fox;—this was far from his own opinion; but he declared that it was very general in that body, who regarded him, and spoke of him on all occasions, in a manner that one would not speak of some better sort of highwaymen. Of the rest of the party they had a good opinion; but thought them weak men, and dupes, and the mere instruments of the

[6] Towards the end of 1789 or beginning of 1790.

person of whom they had conceived such unfounded ideas. I was warmed; and continued, with vehemence, in a conversation which lasted some hours, to do justice to Mr. Fox; and in as ample and strenuous a manner as I thought the duties of friendship, and a matter that touched the public interest, required. It is unnecessary to enter into further details on the subject. I went home, and, late as it was, before I went to bed, I read Dr. Price's sermon; and *in that very sermon* (in which were all the shocking sentiments and seditious principles which I have endeavoured to expose) the leading feature was a personal invective against Mr. Fox,—very much in the style and manner (a trifle, indeed, less coarse,) in which my worthy friend had represented the general conversation of the dissenters, when Mr. Fox was the subject.

It was, I think, but a day or two after that conversation and reading, that I met Mr. Sheridan at Lord North's. He was just come to town; and, of himself, he spoke with great resentment of the dissenters for their treatment of Mr. Fox in other parts of the kingdom; which from him I learned was as bad, particularly at Birmingham, as in London. Concerning the French revolution not a word passed between us. I felt as Mr. Sheridan did, and it does not rest on my single assertion. It is known to others, that some part

of the asperity with which I expressed myself against these gentlemen, arose from my resentment for their incurable and, as I thought, treacherous animosity to Mr. Fox; particularly when I knew that, during the whole of the preceding summer, they were soliciting his friendship and connexion. However, they knew Mr. Fox better than I did. The several shots they fired to bring him to, produced their effect. I take it for granted that public principles, connected with magnanimity of sentiment, made him equally regardless of their enmity and of my friendship;—regardless of my friendship, who was weak enough to adopt his cause with a warmth which his wisdom and temper condemned.

What I had thrown down on the first reading of Price's Declaration and Correspondence with France, was only in a few notes, (though intended for publication,) when Mr. Fox, to my great astonishment and sorrow, chose for his theme of panegyric on the French revolution, the behaviour of the French Guards. I said what occurred to me on that occasion [7]. The day ended with sentiments not very widely divided, and with unbroken friendship. I do not think that at any period of my life I have given stronger proofs of my attachment to that gentleman and to his

[7] Mr. Burke probably refers to the debate on the 9th February, 1790.

party, than I had done after that explanation, during the whole of that session and the next, both within and without doors.

In the mean time the opinions, principles, and practices, which I thought so very mischievous, were gaining ground, particularly in our party. The festival of the fourteenth of July was celebrated with great splendour for the first time[8]. There Mr. Sheridan made a strong declaration of his sentiments, which was printed. All that could be got together of the party were convened at the Shakespeare the night before; that, as the expression was, they might go in force to that anniversary. Applications were made to some of the Prince of Wales's people, that it might appear to have his royal highness's countenance. These things, and many more, convinced me, that the best service which could be done to the party, and to the prince, was to strike a strong blow at those opinions and practices which were carrying on for their common destruction.

As to the prince, I thought him deeply concerned that the ideas of an elective crown should not prevail. He had experienced, and you had all of you fully experienced, the peril of these doctrines on the question of the Regency.

[8] A dinner at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on the 14th July, 1790, Earl Stanhope in the chair.

You know that I endeavoured, as well as I could, to supply the absence of Mr. Fox during that great controversy. You cannot forget that I supported the prince's title to the *regency* upon the principle of his hereditary right to the crown; and I endeavoured to explode the false notions, drawn from what had been stated as the revolution maxims, by much the same arguments which I afterwards used in my printed reflections [9]. I endeavoured to show, that the hereditary succession could not be supported, whilst a person who had the chief interest in it was, during a virtual interregnum, excluded from the government; and that the direct tendency of the measure, as well as the grounds upon which it was argued, went to make the crown itself elective, contrary (as I contended) to the fundamental settlement made after the revolution. I meant to do service to the prince when I took this ground on the regency; I meant to do him service when I took the same ground in my publication.

Here the conduct of the party towards themselves, towards the prince, and (if with these names I could mix myself,) towards me, has been such as to have no parallel. The prince has been

[9] "Mr. Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the proceedings in certain societies in London, relative to that event. In a letter intended to have been sent to a gentleman in Paris," 1790.

persuaded not only to look with all possible coldness on myself, but to lose no opportunity of publicly declaring his disapprobation of a book written to prove that the crown, to which (I hope) he is to succeed, is not elective. For this I am in disgrace at Carlton House. The prince, I am told, has expressed his displeasure that I have not mentioned in that book his right to the regency; I never was so astonished as when I heard this. In the first place, the persons against whom I maintained that controversy had said nothing at all upon the subject of the regency. They went much deeper. I was weak enough to think that the succession to the *crown* was a matter of other importance to his royal highness than his right to the *regency*. At a time when the king was in perfect health, and no question existing of arrangements to be made, on a supposition of his falling into his former, or any other grievous malady, it would have been an imprudence of the first magnitude, and such as would have hurt the prince most essentially, if it were to be supposed he had given me the smallest encouragement to have wantonly brought on that most critical discussion. Not one of the friends whom his royal highness "delighteth to honour," have thought proper to say one word upon the subject, in parliament or out of parliament. But the silence which in them is respectful and prudent, in me

is disaffection. I shall say no more on this matter. The prince must have been strangely deceived. He is much more personally concerned, in all questions of *succession*, than the king, who is in possession. Yet his Majesty has received, with every mark of a gracious protection, my intended service to his family. The prince has been made to believe it to be some sort of injury to himself. Those, the most in his favour and confidence, are avowed admirers of the French democracy. Even his attorney and his solicitor-general [10], who, by their legal knowledge and their eloquence as advocates, ought to be the pillars of his succession, are enthusiasts, public and declared, for the French revolution and its principles. These, my dear sir, are strange symptoms about a future court; and they make no small part of that fear of impending mischief to this constitution, which grows upon me every hour. A Prince of Wales with democratic law-servants, with democratic political friends, with democratic personal favourites! If this be not ominous to the crown, I know not what is.

As to the party and its interests, in endeavouring to support the legal hereditary succession of the Prince of Wales, I consider their power as included in the assertion of his right. I could not say positively how soon the ideas they entertained

[10] Mr. Erskine, afterwards lord-chancellor, and Mr. Piggott, afterwards attorney-general.

might have recommended them to the favour of the reigning king. I did not, however, conceive that, whatever their notions might be, the probability of their being called to the helm, was quite so great under his present Majesty as under a successor; and that, therefore, the maintenance of the right of that successor, against those who at once attacked the settlement of the crown, and were the known, declared enemies of the party, was, in a *political light*, the greatest service I could do to that party, and more particularly to Mr. Fox; infinitely more so than to the Duke of Portland, or Lord Fitzwilliam; because, for many reasons, I am satisfied, that these two noble persons are not so ill at St. James's as he is; and that they (or one of them at least) are not near so well at Carlton House as Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan.

According to the common principles of vulgar politics, this would be thought a service, not ill-intended, and aimed at its mark with tolerable discretion and judgment. For this, the gentlemen have thought proper to render me obnoxious to the party, odious to the prince, (from whose future prerogative alone my family can hope for any thing,) and at least suspected by the body of my country. That is, they have endeavoured completely and fundamentally to ruin me and mine, in all the ways in which it is in the power of man to

destroy the interests and objects of man, whether in his friendship, his fortunes, or his reputation.

But I thought there was another, and a more important point in view, in which, what I had done for the public might eminently serve the party, and in concerns of infinitely more importance to those who compose the major part of the body, than any share of power they might obtain. I considered the party as the particular mark of that anarchical faction; and that the principle of the French revolution which they preached up, would have *them* for its first and most grateful victims. It is against them, as a part of an aristocracy, that the nefarious principles of that grovelling rebellion and tyranny strike; and not at monarchy, further than as it is supposed to be built upon an aristocratic basis. They, who would cheat the nobility and gentry of this nation to their ruin, talk of that monster of turpitude as nothing but the subversion of monarchy. Far from it. The French pride themselves on the idea, however absurd, that theirs is a *démocracie royale.* The name of the monarchy, and of the hereditary monarchy too, they preserve in France; and they feed the person whom they call "king," with such a revenue, given to mere luxury and extravagance totally separated from all provision for the state, as I believe no people ever before dreamed of granting for such purposes. But against the nobility and

gentry they have waged inexpiable war. There are, at this day, no fewer than ten thousand heads of respectable families driven out of France; and those who remain at home, remain in depression, penury, and continued alarm for their lives. You and I know that (in order, as I conceive, still to blind and delude the gentlemen of England,) the French faction here pretended that the persecution of the gentlemen of France could not last;—that at the next election they would recover the consideration which belonged to them, and that we should see that country represented by its best blood, and by all its considerable property. They knew at the time that they were setting forward an imposture. The present assembly, the first born, the child of the strength of their constitution, demonstrates the value of their prediction. At the very instant in which they were making it, they knew, or they knew nothing, that the two hundred and fifty clubs which govern that country had settled their lists. They must have known that the gentlemen of France were not degraded and branded in order to exalt them to greater consequence than ever they possessed. Such they would have had, if they were to compose the whole, or even the major part, of an assembly which rules, in every thing legislative and executive, without any sort of balance or control. No such thing:—the assembly has not fifty men in it

(I believe I am at the outside of the number) who are possessed of an hundred pounds a year, in any description of property whatsoever. About six individuals of enormous wealth, and thereby sworn enemies to the prejudice which affixes a dignity to virtuous well-born poverty, are in the number of the fifty. The rest are, what might be supposed, men whose names never were before heard of beyond their market-town. About four hundred of the seven are country practitioners of the law; several of them the stewards and men of business who managed the affairs of gentlemen, bishops, or convents; who, for their merits towards their former employers, are now made the disposers of their lives and fortunes. The rest no one can give an account of, except of those who have passed to this temple of honour, through the temple of virtue called the house of correction. When the king asked the president who the gentlemen were who attended him with a message, the president answered, that he did not know one of them even by name. The gentlemen of this faction here, I am well aware, attribute this to the perverseness of the gentlemen themselves, who would not offer themselves as candidates. That they did not offer themselves is very true; because they knew that they could appear at the primary assemblies only to be insulted, at best; perhaps even murdered, as some of them have

been; and many more have been threatened with assassination. What are we to think of a constitution, as a pattern, from which the whole gentry of a country, instead of courting a share in it with eagerness and assiduity, fly as from a place of infection? But the gentlemen of France are all base, vicious, servile, &c. &c. &c. Pray, let not the gentlemen of England be flattered to their destruction, by railing at their neighbours. They are as good as we are, to the full. If they were thus base and corrupt in their sentiments, there is nothing they would not submit to in order to have their share in this scramble for wealth and power. But they have declined it, from sentiments of honour and virtue, and the purest patriotism. One turns with pity and indignation from the view of what they suffer for those sentiments; and, I must confess, my animosity is doubled against those amongst us, who, in that situation, can rail at persons who bear such things with fortitude, even supposing that they suffered for principles in which they were mistaken. But neither you, nor I, nor any fair man, can believe, that a whole nation is free from honour and real principle; or that if these things exist in it, they are not to be found in the men the best born, and the best bred, and in those possessed of rank which raises them in their own esteem, and in the esteem

of others, and possessed of hereditary settlement in the same place, which secures, with an hereditary wealth, an hereditary inspection. That these should be all scoundrels, and that the virtue, honour, and public spirit of a nation should be only found in its attorneys, pettifoggers, stewards of manors, discarded officers of police, shop-boys, clerks of counting-houses, and rustics from the plough, is a paradox, not of false ingenuity, but of envy and malignity. It is an error, not of the head, but of the heart. The whole man is turned upside down before such an inversion of all natural sentiment and all natural reason can take place. I do not wish to you, no, nor to those who applaud such scenes, angry as I am with them, masters of that description.

Visible as it was to the world, that not the despotism of a prince, but the condition of a gentleman, was the grand object of attack; I thought I should do service to a party of gentlemen, to caution the public against giving countenance to a project, calculated for the ruin of such a party.

When such an attempt was not excused, even as well-intended, there was but one way of accounting for the conduct of gentlemen towards me; it is, that from my hands they are resolved not to accept any service. Be it so. They are rid of an incumbrance; and I retire to repose of

body and mind, with a repose of conscience too; perfect, with regard to the party and the public, however I may feel myself, as I do, faulty and deficient in other respects. The only concern I feel is, that I am obliged to continue an hour longer in parliament. Whilst I am there, except in some deep constitutional question, I shall take no part. Lord Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Portland shall not be seen voting one way in the House of Lords whilst I vote another in the House of Commons; and any vote of mine, by which I may add even my mite of contribution towards supporting the system or advancing the power of the new French whigs, I never will give. That corruption has cast deep roots in that party, and they vegetate in it (however discredited amongst the people in general) every day with greater and greater force. The particular gentlemen who are seized with that malady (such I must consider it), have, to my thinking, so completely changed their minds, that one knows no longer what to depend upon, or upon what ground we stand. Some of them (besides the two leaders) are, indeed, so high in character, and of such great abilities, that their mistake, if such it be, must make a most mischievous impression. I know they say, that they do not want to introduce these things here, &c. &c.,—but this is a poor business, while they propagate all the abstract

principles, and exalt to the stars the realization of them at our door. They are sublime metaphysicians; and the horrible consequences produced by their speculations affect them not at all. They only ask whether the proposition be true?—Whether it produces good or evil, is no part of their concern. This long letter, my dear friend, is for you; but so for you, as that you may show it to such of our friends who, though they cannot in prudence support, will not in justice condemn me.

My dear sir,
Most faithfully, your most obliged and obedient humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

January 29, 1792.

MY EVER DEAR RICHARD,

I hardly know whether I desired to hear from you. To hear of you, and of your health and spirits, was all that your mother and I required. I knew too well how little any advice given at a distance from the scene of action is capable of doing. However, though I did not expect it, your letter was not the less acceptable to us all. It made you present to us. It was a picture of your virtue,

benevolence, firmness, vigour of mind, and your true fortitude. The same impulse that directs the sun in his course from east to west, has whirled you from Coblentz to Dublin. I trust he will make the proceeding of the little orb, in the same course, give his proportion of benefit in one part, though he has failed in the other; or, if the good is not obtained by one day's journey, it will warm and prepare the ground for the effect of another. Though you say prudence with regard to yourself is not your *fort*, and you say truly, yet I hope you are convinced that an attention to oneself is a necessary condition to the care and protection of others; and that safety, good-will, and co-operating minds are necessary instruments in all great and good designs. You tell me the matter will have an argument, and an argument supported by great ability. I confess I wish it could be formally done by counsel at the bar, as well as in the House. This I know will be difficult, as the petitioners can only petition as so many individuals, and can have no corporate capacity or delegation whatsoever. But quære, whether this very thing, showing the mischief that happens from their degraded situations, may not be used as a sort of argument to desire a dispensation with the rule? This must be a matter of prudence, as to practice; as to argument, it is forcible, and indeed presents itself in a thousand faces. Let the individuals who sign

the petition (if this should be a mode adopted) modestly hint, that they appear before a body whose authority and competence they most cheerfully recognise, and to whose wisdom, benevolence, and justice they willingly submit; but that they have not the presumption to call them their representatives, in the whole or in any part. But why do I hint to you that to which you are infinitely, both from yourself and your situation, more able to judge on? Take every thing I say but as a hint thrown out. If this be said, the wording of it ought to be very nice, so as to express the thing, if possible, without saying it; that they wish themselves in a situation in which it would not be an unjustifiable degree of presumption, &c. &c. &c. The matter in itself ought to be firm, but the tone melancholy, querulous, and almost creeping on the ground. They ought to notice the arts used to divide them; to calumniate their intentions; to represent them to be bad citizens because they aspire to be free subjects; and the *addresses* of those who, jealous of their franchise, yet are not generous enough to suffer others even to wish for the same enjoyment, though they never had any provocation from them, and have ever cultivated them with all the good offices in their power, &c. &c. Surely they ought not to be passed over in silence. Stay whilst there is hope, but no longer than is necessary for the arrangements for a future

hope founded on the present despair. Let this committee stick together, and sooner or later they cannot fail. Their failure ought to be instantly followed with an address to the king, expressive of inviolable loyalty, &c. &c., and a bitter complaint (managed in the terms) of those whose calumnies have prevented them from any share in a constitutional and public mode of showing their good affections to the crown. Swift has but just finished a copy of the letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe [11], and John King has just wrote to me for it to show to his principal [1]. I have sent it to him, desiring that if it could not instantly be perused, it might be sent immediately to my brother, to be transmitted to you. I see Langrishe does not communicate with you. Poor Sir Joshua still alive, and a trifle better.

Your mother's ten thousand blessings, and the blessings of all here, with those of your ever affectionate and grateful father,

EDM. BURKE.

P. S. Ought not you to be delicate about the communication in any extent of my letter to Langrishe without his leave, and the omitting such parts as he may choose as applying particularly to himself? If made public, it may be more generalized.

[11] Published in the 6th volume of the Works, 8vo. edition.

[1] Lord Grenville.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

February 19, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I shall say nothing of our heavy loss[2]; no words can easily express it. His life and his death, and all the former and latter acts of both, show it. It has involved me in some business.

I could not trust the post in any manner, to state to you the apparently unaccountable conduct of the ministers, and the manner in which you and I stand with them. Whether they at all read the ample letters which I know they received from you, I cannot tell. This I know, that they seem governed by the counter-representations they receive from the Castle. The only impression they seem to have received is that of terror and perplexity. They find themselves well, and would be glad to remain in quiet, though three millions, or three hundred millions, passed their nights with very little rest. But it will be the affair of your committee to be noisy and importunate beggars; and not to suffer those to enjoy any rest who

[2] The death of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

will give them none. When I was called first to town, early in the year, by poor Sir Joshua's alarming situation, I offered to see Dundas, who sent me word that he would gladly see me, but that the matters on which we should converse would take up some hours. This marked confidence, and a disposition to confer on business, of which your affairs were by far the most important part. The rest related to India matters. King's discourse to me breathed the same spirit as his message. When I came to town, it was in vain that I attempted to see him. At length an interview was obtained, as through solicitation. He did not open a word of discourse about Ireland. I introduced it. He preserved a dead silence, and heard me like a man who wished an unpleasant conversation at an end. Nothing could be more completely cold, distant, and even repulsive to me, than the conduct and manner of ministers in this and in every other point. As to India matters, Dundas talked to me, without all sort of comparison, with more openness on the subject, when I was in the very meridian heat of opposition to him, than he did then. You know my memorial about the French affairs. Lord Grenville had it, as I thought, rather at his own desire. When I wished it back, he sent it to me without a word of observation. King told me that he wished to show it (as I had hinted) to the

great man of all: I sent it. It is with him, and has been long. No answer from any quarter. It is plain they wish to be rid of my interference in any thing; though I never *showed*, nor indeed *have* I any disposition to meddle in *their* affairs, properly ministerial; nor in any respect whatever, except in such things as belong to *all* ministers, and are of general concern to the empire, and perhaps to mankind. But these are, of all matters, those in which they are the most indifferent. So far as to my situation with regard to ministers; and such certainly is yours. As to opposition, and my relation to them, things remain nearly as they were; no approximation on the part of Fox to me, or of me to him, or to or from any of his people, except general civility when seldom we meet. I never stay in the House to hear any debates, much less to divide on any question. On the affair of Hastings we converse just as we did. Fox sitting by me at Hastings' trial, spoke to me about the business of the Catholics of Ireland; and expressed himself, as I thought he would, very strongly in their favour; but with little hopes of any thing being done. He observed, he said, a close agreement between the chiefs of the opposition and the Castle; and that he knew of the Duke of Leinster only who was favourable to their enfranchisement. As to the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam, they are, I think, rather more

cordial than ever. But the difference between their numerous societies and my extremely scanty society is such, that we do not very often see one another, except when I have dined with the duke, or he, or Lord F. call upon me.

In this state of things, your conduct ought to be full of guard and caution, without abating the steady uniformity of pursuit, on which every thing depends. I am persuaded that this business ought not to end without a strong petition directly delivered to the king, and with a declaration made in all the languages in Europe. That to the king should be mere heads, but perhaps they will not be the less lucid, or the less forcible. I should depend much on the effect of such a measure properly executed, and I think we should not differ a great deal about the mode. The danger is of your people's dispersing whilst their enemies are combined, powerful, and (though without any reason) highly irritated. I have seen a letter from Mr. Keogh to Dr. Hussey [3], written with infinite force, spirit, and justice; but there is a proposal in it, which is so capable of being perverted to evil, though very well intended, that I would not for the world it was thrown beyond the limits of the most perfect confidence. God

[3] The Rev. Dr. Hussey, who was subsequently President of the College of Maynooth. Mr. Keogh was Secretary to the Roman Catholic Committee.

Almighty bless you! I am called off. This goes by O'Hara

These passages must be altered, and then, so far from having any objection to Dr. Hussey's presenting it, and attending him, as Mr. Keogh wishes on that occasion, I rather desire it. The letter, bating the critical offer[5], and the £100 qualification, is in every point right; and it breathes a spirit of manly indignation, which ought to be encouraged and kept up. The £100 qualification is not a thing to be even whispered, because it would tend to make the world believe, what undoubtedly has no foundation in the mind of the proposer,—that, after all has been said, the committee are like Lord Kenmare and his friends, who look only to the accommodation of a few gentlemen, and leave the common people, who are the heart and strength of the cause of the Catholics, and are the great objects in all popular representation, completely in the lurch. What has been proposed is full high enough, and it ought to be stuck to. Perhaps nothing has been got by going so far. The effect of reading the newspaper has been such, on my mind, even without the acting part which you

[4] Probably Charles O'Hara, Esq., M.P. for the county of Sligo.

[5] *Viz.*—the proposal described above, as capable of being perverted to evil.

describe, that I am not yet in a proper temper to make even observations of asperity upon it. Well, it is proof enough, if any thing were before wanting to prove, how dreadful a thing a popular representative power is, to those who are subjected to it without participation.

The great thing which I wish to know is this,—for on this the whole depends,—are the Catholics irritated, or are they frightened with this contumelious treatment? If they are frightened, and by their fright induced to dissolve their union, or to abate one of their efforts, or abandon any one of their claims, it is all over with them. The scantiness of their claims has produced no other effect than to give people a colour to say, that even in their own conscience they are satisfied they are entitled to very little, and that whatever they may pretend, great caution ought to be used in trusting them with any sort of constitutional liberty. This is vile chicane; but as little future ground should be given for it as possible. This bill of Langrishe's is not only no relief, but it is mischievous and insolent, and ought to be declared against, in some way or other, very publicly, and rejected wholly, with decency, but firmness. That is, with thanks for intentions; but their wants and feelings not known, &c. &c. Perhaps the House of Lords ought to be * * * *[6] against

[6] An illegible word in the MS.

it, or it may be followed farther. Thanks ought to be very formally given, by a deputation, to all the gentlemen who voted for them. It is no great labour, and will be useful. Public acknowledgments ought also to be made. Grattan's speech is a noble performance. He is a great man, eloquent in conception and in language, and when that is the case, being on the right side is of some importance to the perfection of what is done. It is of great consequence to a country to have men of talents and courage in it, though they have no power.

I thought, when I saw the exculpatory publication of the committee, that it was all good, and in many places admirable, and that I was able to trace not only your manner of thinking, but here and there your expressions in it; but I was told that it was the performance of a number of gentlemen, members of the committee, and lawyers. Perhaps it may as well pass for such, even if you have written it, or some part of it.

You have written long letters to Dundas. I wonder at it; for I know the length only furnished him with an excuse not to read them. The ministers here consider Ireland only as an object that they do not know how to give up; but *they* take no sort of trouble about it, and do by no means thank you for any that *you* may take. I hope, however, you have copies for my satisfac-

tion, and, possibly, one day for your own justification. Government has abandoned you and itself; and the interest of your clients is now your sole consideration. That interest requires the utmost steadiness, not the least heat or tumult.

Saturday is the funeral of our dear Sir Joshua. It will be greatly attended.

May God greatly and powerfully protect you! Never had you or any man a greater call for temper,—and oh! use it all. Do you know a Catholic, Mr. Strange, who has been spreading idle tales and speculations about you?

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE REV. ROBERT DODGE [7].

Duke-street, St. James's,
February 29, 1792.

MY VERY DEAR SIR,

Your kind and frequent recollection of me in several parts of Europe, and the favourable impressions you have been pleased to give of my

[7] A beneficed clergyman of the county of Cork; at this time travelling on the Continent with Lord Boyle, eldest son of the Earl of Shannon. He had previously travelled with the present Earl of Cork, then Lord Dungarvan, by whose father he was recommended to Lord Shannon. Mr. Dodge was related to the family of General William Haviland, of whom mention is made in this letter.

intentions to several persons of weight and distinction, give me the greatest pride and pleasure. I hope that you added every where, that I had the honour of being amongst those who love and respect you the most. It would add much to my reputation; for I think it impossible you should go into any country in which your understanding, manners, and temper, will not obtain consideration for you. I hope every thing from what I hear of Lord Boyle's own natural talents and dispositions, and I think nothing can be wanting to a young person who sees Europe in your company. You have gone through all the standing power and greatness of the world; you are now amidst the ruins of what is fallen. Power of every name and kind. Power of force, and power of opinion. Italy is deprived of these; but her grand and fertile nature and her fine position remain. The monuments of art, and taste, and magnificence, which in her prosperity were her ornament, are still our lesson; and teach, and will teach us, as long as we have sense enough to learn from them, the spirit with which we ought, when we are able, to decorate a country now the most flourishing that exists. These will give her dignity and glory, when her opulence and her power are gone away, and will perpetuate to other ages and other nations the elegance and taste we have had from Italy. I am sure you must have been struck on viewing the

splendid ruins, and half-ruins, of the imperial and pontifical Italy, with the littleness and meanness (though not wholly without taste and elegance and neatness) of every thing in this country, although more opulent than any which ever was perhaps in the world. What is London? Clean, commodious, neat; but, a very few things indeed excepted, an endless addition of littleness to littleness, extending itself over a great tract of land. This will lead you to the general principles which divert wealth to objects of permanence and grandeur, and to those which confine it to personal convenience and partial luxury.

Mrs. Haviland grows, I think, every day better, and more and more enamoured of her residence in Beconsfield, of which place she is the soul, as she would be of a more extended sphere; as very few are equal to her in vivacity, good-nature, and a disposition to make every thing about her pleased and happy. She is well seconded by her sister. Here we have little news; the national wealth, credit, and prosperity, go on augmenting from day to day; we can almost see it grow. The admirers of confusion become almost ashamed of their bad taste, and I have the pleasure of assuring you, that they are neither in heart nor credit. I could wish that the government of Ireland, and the reigning gentlemen there, would take the opportunity of this halcyon calm, to remove with temper and prudence

all real cause of discontent from their country, and to unite all sorts of people in an interest in a constitution made for the union and happiness of men. My son is in Ireland. He has long been one of the law-agents to the Catholics. You know the firmness and industry with which he acts, in any cause which may do good to any description of British subjects. Mrs. Burke and all here desire to be most cordially remembered to you. I think you will partake in our common satisfaction on the promotion of John King [8].

If you find an Abbate Leonaté be so good to thank him for the letter he has done me the honour to write to me; and tell him I hope shortly to be able to send him a collection of my pamphlets, that he may choose such as he thinks may divert and interest him next in the translation.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect and regard,

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful and obedient
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

I see every day our dear Lord Inchiquin, and I have never seen him better.

[8] Mr. John King, whose family has been mentioned in a former note, had lately been appointed under-secretary of state for the home department.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, March, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

A thousand thanks for your letter to your uncle, which we mean to send this night to him on the circuit. I hope you have got the long letter and pacquet I wrote last. I shall not say much now, as I write chiefly to put you in mind of what perhaps you had forgot, that is, that you have a chaise lying useless to you and us at Holyhead; and that, if you mean to take any little trips in Ireland, surely in common sense you ought to send for it. An application to any of the captains will make them attend to it carefully. Hastings' business going off to the return of the judges. We are here; we came down yesterday. Miss Palmer, Mr. Gwatkin, and Mrs. Gwatkin, are just this minute arrived. I begin to think that these women look better already; they are to stay here for some time. Every thing turned out fortunately for poor Sir Joshua, from the moment of his birth to the hour I saw him laid in the earth. Never was a funeral of ceremony attended with so much sincere concern of all sorts of people. The day was favour-

able; the order not broken or interrupted in the smallest degree. Your uncle, who was back in the procession, was struck almost motionless at his entering at the great west door. The body was just then entering the choir, and the organ began to open, and the long black train before him produced an astonishing effect on his sensibility, on considering how dear to him the object of that melancholy pomp had been. Every thing, I think, was just as our deceased friend would, if living, have wished it to be; for he was, as you know, not altogether indifferent to this kind of observances. He gave, indeed, a direction that no expenses should be employed; but his desire to be buried at St. Paul's justified what we have done; and all circumstances demanded it. I don't think the whole charge will come up to six hundred pound. The academy bore their own share of the expense. We do not know his circumstances exactly, because we have not been able to estimate the immense collection of pictures, drawings, and prints. They stood him in more than twenty thousand pound. Taking things at the very worst, I do not think Miss Palmer can have less, when all legacies are discharged, than thirty thousand pound. It was owing, I believe, to his being obliged to take to his bed sooner than he expected, that poor Sir Joshua neglected even to name his nephews, the Palmers. This is the only

unlucky thing. They are deeply hurt, and I do not much wonder at it.

It is plain that it is Hastings' plan to continue the trial until peers, commoners, and spectators, run away from it. Law[9] was three days in opening, but he spent more *hours* in those three days, than I had done in my four. Plumer[1] has spent three days in opening the Benares charge[2], and he has not got so far as Hastings' proposition to go up to Benares. He has already spent more hours than Fox and Grey did in going through the whole. If he proceeds on the same plan, and gives length in proportion to matter, I think he ought to take at least six days more. It is impossible to bring it to an end this session. In my opinion, they make very little way indeed; though the doctrine, that no agreement barred against the rights of sovereignty, seemed to have made the impression intended by the counsel; but that cannot last long before a discussion of the point.

My mind is much bent on you and on your business. You see by my letter how much I approve your plans. I take it for granted you have received it. I shall write to you more fully by a proper opportunity. If your clients relax for a

[9] The late Lord Ellenborough.

[1] Afterwards Solicitor-general, Vice-chancellor, and Master of the Rolls.

[2] *i. e.* the defence against the Benares charge.

moment, they are gone. Let the storm of addresses blow over. Let fury and treachery do their work. Reason and justice will prevail. Do they think, unfortunate and insane tyrants as they are, that slavery will be rendered more tolerable by adding contumely to it? Since the beginning of time, so outrageous a proceeding as that on the petition [3] has not been heard of. This shows that

[3] The petition of the Roman Catholic committee had been presented on Saturday, the 18th Feb., by Mr. Egan, M. P. for Tallagh, and was ordered to lie on the table. On Monday, Feb. 20, the Right Hon. David La Touche, M. P. for Newcastle, moved that the petition be rejected; this motion was seconded by the Right Hon. George Ogle, M. P. for the county of Wexford, and, after a long debate, was carried; ayes 208, noes 23. The following is the petition whose rejection Mr. Burke characterizes as such an outrageous proceeding.

"To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the Roman Catholics of Ireland, humbly showeth,

"That, as the House has thought it expedient to direct their attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal statutes still subsisting against them, they beg leave, with all humility, to come before the House, with the most heartfelt assurance of the wisdom and justice of Parliament, which is at all times desirous most graciously to attend to the petitions of the people; they, therefore, humbly presume to submit to the House their entreaty, that they should take into their consideration, whether the

the petition ought to have been made reasoned and pathetic, that the treatment of it might have been rendered more striking. However, the Catholics were perfectly in the right to present one of some sort or other. They had been undone, past redemption, if they had suffered themselves to be intimidated from an application. The debate was wholly with them. Grattan's incomparable speech, I think, ought to make a little separate pamphlet. The debate ought to be put into the newspapers here. There is now sufficient vacancy for it. I have just read Jones's letter on this subject. I wish some things had been omitted, but it is as spirited and manly a performance as I think I have seen. The ap-

removal of some of the civil incapacities under which they labour, and the restoration of the petitioners to some share in the elective franchise, which they enjoyed long after the revolution, will not tend to strengthen the Protestant state, add new vigour to industry, and afford protection and happiness to the Catholics of Ireland; that the petitioners refer with confidence to their conduct for a century past, to prove their uniform loyalty, and submission to the laws, and to corroborate their solemn declaration, that if they obtain from the justice and benignity of parliament, such relaxation from certain incapacities, and a participation in that franchise which will raise them to the rank of free men, their gratitude must be proportioned to the benefit; and that, enjoying some share in the happy constitution of Ireland, they will exert themselves with additional zeal in its conservation."

pearance of it, too, at this time is seasonable. Byrnes's Dublin publication of my letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe was so blundering as to vex me. He makes me say, and that at a critical point, the direct reverse of my sense. Debret brought it to me very luckily before he printed it, and I corrected the worst parts. I see, in his second edition, he too has chosen to amend it into a blunder; but it is a blunder of not much importance. He printed a large edition of two thousand; what is next I know not. I hear it is well spoken of by the opposition here. I think you quite right in all your schemes. What is that unfortunate man Lord Kenmare doing? He is worthily represented by Sir Boyle Roche. To make that ridiculous creature a peer, he sells three millions of his countrymen and brethren. Greater mischiefs happen often from folly, meanness, and vanity, than from the greater sins of avarice and ambition. All here salute you most cordially, and to God I commend you; wishing my best love to all friends in Dublin. Is the provost returned, and how are you there? I suppose Lord Charlemont is cold to you. How is the Duke of Leinster?

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO EDMUND MALONE, ESQ. [4]

March 18, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

After Laurence and I had turned our thoughts a thousand ways, we could think of nothing absolutely to our own minds. To find something appropriate to his art, and to the immortality of his fame, is the desideratum. If we could not find any thing that combined these objects, what were we to do? Why, as the tablet is small, and on a monument, and that the emblems point out the art, the inscription must refer to the fame which triumphs over the tomb.

Your first motto, "*et statuent, &c.* [5]," is a promise of a monument, engraved as an inscription on a monument. The next should have no more than the "*inventas, &c.*" But this supposes not an improvement, not an absolute excellence in an

[4] The celebrated critic and commentator on Shakspeare. He was named in the will of Sir Joshua Reynolds (who died on the 23rd of February in this year) as joint executor with Mr. Burke. The inscription discussed in this letter was for an ornamented engraved card of thanks, to be presented to those distinguished persons who attended the great painter's funeral. The motto taken from Tacitus was finally adopted.

[5] Æneidos lib. vi.

art, but the invention of the art itself; and the line after "*quique sui memores,*" plainly alludes, not to the endearing virtues of private life, but to great, public, and heroic virtue. Besides, perhaps, the lines are too common. Laurence has just opened upon a passage in Tacitus, *de Causis* [6], which, with a little alteration, will, I really think, do, if the tablet will hold it. "*Sincera et integra* [*et nullis pravitatibus detorta*] *natura toto pectore arripuit artem* [*honestam*[7]."] If the whole be too long, what is between the brackets may be left out.

Here are some others for your consideration :—

"Mussabat tacito [medicina] pictura timore,"

from Lucretius, altered [8]; or from Virgil the last of these two lines :—

[*Ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris,*]
"*Succedet famâ vivusque per ora feretur*[9]."

Your note for the bottom is the thing, with the

[6] De Oratoribus sive de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ dialogus, cap. 28.

[7] The entire passage runs thus: Sic Corneliam Gracchorum; sic Aureliam Cæsaris; sic Attiam Augusti matrem præfuisse educationibus, ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus, quæ disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera, et integra, et nullis pravitatibus detorta, uniuscujusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas. Tac. de Oratoribus, § 28.

[8] De Rerum Natura, lib. vi.

[9] Æneidos lib. xii.

addition only of "the family," and then it will stand thus:—

"The executors and family of Sir Joshua Reynolds return thanks for the tribute of respect paid to departed genius and virtue, by your attendance at the funeral of that illustrious painter and most amiable man, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on Saturday, March 3rd, 1792."

Miss Palmer and Mrs. Gwatkin[1] give a thousand thanks for the pains you have taken. They think the print very elegant. They propose being in town to-morrow. Best regards to Mr. Metcalf.

Adieu, my dear sir,

And believe me truly and faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

I have only now time to tell you that the Emperor is dead, and the report, by poison. Cazalès and a Breton friend of his, once a victim of the bastile, now a suffering aristocrat, came in upon us just at dinner. As they had sat down to cards,

[1] Nieces of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

came in Woodford, very kindly to inform us all of the death of the Emperor. It is thought he is dead of poison. His eldest son[2] is about twenty-four, little known, and little heard of. The agreement was made, but not executed, for choosing him king of the Romans. This affair, by diverting the minds of the people of Europe from the affairs of France, will enable the dominant faction there to bully the little princes on the Rhine, and possibly to make an insurrection amongst them. Though Cazalès had little to hope from the Emperor, he is confounded at his loss. He was, however, fixed on his throne; and if he were disposed to a right use of his power, he had power to use. Now this young prince has a most difficult card to play. The king of Prussia will rule the roast. God knows what will happen; but things look cloudily for the *aristocrates*. If it should happen that this poisoning should be attributed to some mad monk, as amongst chances the very thing may happen, it will be brought to bear against Catholics; and what is worse, against religion every where. Miss Palmer and the Gwatkin's are here; and the Havilands dine. Laurence, Cuppage, and Nagle, came one after the other, so we are as full as we can hold; and I can say no more to you. I shall write at large. Lord Fitz-

[2] Francis, late Emperor of Austria.

william has Cazalès and the Bintinnayes to dine with him on Tuesday. Bintinnaye is going to publish. They are all to be off at the end of the week for Coblentz. Your uncle set off not very well, but we have a letter from him in good spirits. May God bless and preserve you!

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

March 20, 1792.

My dearest Richard,

Your last letter, as all yours do, makes me very happy. Walker[3] has received one from you, as has John[3]. They are of the same purport as ours, and therefore all that we can expect under the present circumstances. I am pleased that you are on confidential terms with Grattan[4] and those who took the manly part which he did on that monstrous, unheard of, shocking, profligate, and unparliamentary calling the petition of the Catholics from the table, in order to throw it out with indignity and insult. God forbid, for the sake of general humanity, in which they partake in spite

[3] King.

[4] The Right Hon. Henry Grattan, at this time a member of the Irish House of Commons.

of themselves, that they[5] should suffer the punishment, which their folly and wickedness calls for, from God and man. I am glad that you are on decent terms even with them; and pray, as far as in you lies, keep the terms of common society with those with whom you can keep no other. All the possible charities of life ought to be cultivated, and where we can neither be brethren nor friends, let us be kind neighbours and pleasant acquaintance. The Protestants of Ireland are just like the Catholics;—the cat looking out of the window, and the cat looking in at the window. The difference of being in or out of power is the only difference between them; and power is a very corrupting thing, especially low and jobbish power. This makes the Protestants a trifle worse, as servility makes the Catholics a little worse on the other hand; but that fault of servility since my time of observation is a little mended. The old ones indeed, who had remembered with indignation a slavery which was yet but crude, and had still kept up something of the spirit of the struggle, were not debased. The second growth (most of all they who touched the first growth the nearest), and those whom I had seen in their meridian when I began life, whether Catholics or converts, were, for the greater part,

[5] The Orange party in the Irish House of Parliament.

very low and abject. Such was Anthony Malone[6], though only the son of a convert; and such was a relation of ours, John Fitzgibbon, a convert himself. The last, however, had the most, by far, of a firm and manly character. Had he lived, he would have been astonished rather more than edified at the zeal of his son[7]. My last conversation with him was at Milltown, in 1766. We dined *tête-à-tête*, and he spoke to me like a good Irishman. Religion, as such, made no part of our conversation then, or at any former time; but the condition of his countrymen and blood, on account of that religion, from the insane prejudices and furious temper then raging in the lower part of the prevailing faction, seemed to make a proper impression upon him; although the desire of fortune, the fear of raising disturbance to his declining days, and his ambition with regard to his

[6] Mr. Malone was an eminent member of the Irish Parliament. In 1740 he was appointed Prime-Sergeant, from which office he was dismissed in 1754, in consequence of having taken an active part in the House of Commons in favour of its right to dispose, without the *previous consent* of the Crown, of money already raised and unappropriated. In 1757 he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, but was removed in 1760. He died in May, 1776. His nephew, Richard Malone, was created Lord Sunderlin in 1785. Vide Lodge's Irish Peerage.

[7] John, first Earl of Clare, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

family, as well as the habits of fear and constraint, hindered him from taking any proper part. However, his mind was right, both as a lawyer and as a man that wished well to his country. I well remember, that the day before, or immediately after, I dined with him, I dined with the then chancellor Bowes[8]. We talked a great deal on the then state of Ireland. He said, and I believe without meaning to please me, (I am sure he thought his death to be, as it turned out, very near,) that he had been under a very great error relative to Ireland, to which, though a stranger, he said he had always wished well; and that for near forty years together he had, under that error, been doing an incredible deal of mischief, as attorney-general, or prime-sergeant, (I forget which,) as chief baron, and for some time as chancellor. That a long experience had taught him at length the greatness of his mistake, and that he was extremely sorry that he could not promise himself to be able to make any amends for it, in the short time he had to live, but that he would take care, that by no forwardness of his any further mischief should be done by the penal laws. He was a man not much above the ordinary pitch for compass or penetration, but ex-

[8] Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1757 to 1767, created Lord Bowes in 1758.

pressed the ideas he had admirably well. He had a sort of proud, formal, antiquated dignity, with a certain air of great quality, to which, however, he had no pretensions. He was suspected of strange vices, and possessed no real esteem, though, as his fortune grew, people bowed to him. He had, however, no malignity in his nature: and as soon as he found that the reigning family supposed its safety might be consistent with the prosperity of Ireland, he was ready to fall in with ideas which had more sense and good-nature in them than his unaccountable Anglicism, whiggism, and Protestantism, which in those days stood with many, particularly with all the rising men, in the place of honour, conscience, and public spirit. Such I found the few that were left in Dublin, when I was there in the autumn of 1766. As to those who fill the present stage, I do not think them at all infected with the old prejudices. They are jobbers, as their fathers were; but with this difference, their fathers had false principles. The present race, I suspect, have none. From this indication, if I am right in it, I may suppose much good, or much evil, as they are managed. In 1766, in the governing people, the old false principles were quite worn out. In the squirehood, the pretence of them for the purposes of insolence, oppression, and low provincial politics, still existed; but that shameful rage in Munster

was very nearly exhausted, so that things were as I thought more favourable than they had been in 1761 and 1763, to a real reformation. I think they continued so until a little time before you got to Ireland, where I discontinue:—for now you know the theatre better than I do. How they came to change, so as apparently to produce as great a malignity (with a more indecent display of it) as could have been at any former period, I cannot divine, nor shall I be able, in all probability, to do so until I see you. I began by speaking of the character of the Protestants with you. I think it not radically bad; on the contrary, they have a reasonable share of good-nature. If they could be once got to think that Catholics were human creatures, and that they lost no job by thinking them such, I am convinced they would soon, very soon indeed, be led to show some regard to their country.

I have written a great deal in the form of letters to you, and had much more to say, but as you have given me no answer to the question I asked you,—whether you thought any thing more under my name might be useful to your cause in Ireland or here, I have stopped short. If you think it proper that I should write, perhaps a much sharper than what I wrote to Langrishe, and stronger, might be otherwise addressed. Here, the formless letter I have

written to Langrishe has been of a good deal of service. The Catholics' short apology has been printed by Debret, and is much liked. I think it ought to be circulated. Your committee ought to be at that expense, which I don't think will exceed ten pounds. I will do it at hazard. I was quite sure it was yours, though the committee of lawyers who drew it were named to me, man by man, by Dr. Hussey. Who told him this story I know not. I think I never saw so much in so small a compass. One sentence only, where you close the climax of remedial proceeding by parliament, is a little embarrassed. This only requires the parenthesis to be put by itself, as a sentence independent after the other, and it would be as clear as one could wish. The whole tone, temper, arguments, and reflections, are admirable; one or two sentences perhaps are too refined. I do not mean that they are not solid, far from it. Perhaps they are too profound. O! what a shocking way my letter to Langrishe is printed in! In Debret's edition I have corrected it. How stand you with Langrishe? How with Lord Charlemont? How with the Duke of Leinster? How with Scott[9]? How in the College? I was not able to show the attention I

[9] Probably Lord Earlsfort; by which title he was created a peer in 1784, afterwards Earl of Clonmel, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

wished to Hutchinson here; but I am charmed with the wisdom, the courage, and the dignity of proceeding of his whole family. I have read and heard a good deal of it. I am persuaded you do not overrate it in your accounts.

Agenda.—1. Get the books out of Dr. Campbell's hands. Let him not trifle with you. I have trifled in giving them to him. 2. Let an honest and sure hand copy for you the whole of the affidavits (so far as relate to Armagh) contained in the rascally collection in the college relative to the pretended massacre in 1641; particularly an account of the correspondence with Owen O'Neil, then in Flanders, which is a longish piece. The affidavits relative to the besieging and taking the Church of Armagh from Saturday, October the 3rd (as I think), to the Tuesday following. I am sure, wicked as they are, and mostly hearsay, they refute fully the false stories produced on their credit by Temple. Leland went over them with me and poor Bowdens, long since dead. We agreed about them; but when he began to write history, he thought only of himself and the bookseller;—for his history was written at my earnest desire, but the mode of doing it varied from his first conceptions. Had he been more firm, he would have sold his work quite as well as he did. When I left Dublin in 1764, there was a dealer in old goods in Bride-street, who had got together

many curious letters, manuscripts of all sorts, and printed books. He had particularly some of Lord Clarendon's correspondence relative to Ireland,—a missing volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, which parliament bought from him,—a volume of the journals of the confederate Catholics in Kilkenny,—a short printed manifesto of Phelim O'Neil, on his taking arms in 1641, and many other papers, proper to throw light on the most important part of the Irish history;—that in which, for some years, that nation attempted to act on its own bottom. These papers were all, as I understand, purchased from him. Are they in the college library? Dr. Kearney would, perhaps, be the fittest for this investigation. The old furniture-man, who was very curious and intelligent, told me that Lord Jocelyn had a most valuable collection in print and manuscript relative to that period. Could they be got at?

I am glad that you wish to see more of Ireland.

> Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsorum et ossa parentum,
> Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divum
> Ades [1].

And may God give it a blessing! But remem-

[1] The original passage is—

> Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis,
> Haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divûm
> Adsumus, et portus delati intramus amicos.
>
> Æn. v. 57.

ber, you go into the very focus of all possible malignity to the cause you have to manage,—therefore, examine beforehand into your company, and guard yourself with all possible prudence. I wish you, if possible, to pass not directly from Limerick to Cork, but to go from Limerick to Clonmell. It is a tract of country no way romantic, but in my opinion well worth seeing. If Mr. Butler be living, (I fear he is dead,) who was sheriff of Tipperary in 1764, 1765, or 1766, he will inform you of the extraordinary proceedings of that time. You may learn, likewise, what was then done and attempted at Limerick and at Waterford, but let it not be known that you are making such an investigation. I hope it may not be necessary; but it may. When you go towards the Blackwater, if we have got any friends alive, and not quite ruined there, hinder them from showing you any honours in the way which in old times was not unusual with them, but which since are passed away, for in the present age and reign of newspapers they would be very mischievous. I have long been uneasy in my mind, when I consider the early obligations, strong as debts, and stronger than some debts, to some of my own family, now advanced in life, and fallen, I believe, into great penury. Mrs. Crotty is daughter of Patrick Nagle, to whom (the father) I cannot now tell you all I owe. She

has had me a child in her arms, and must be now, I dare say, 74 years old at least. I wish her much to have some relief, so do I to Katty Courtnay. Now, my dearest Richard, I have destined, if you like it, a twentieth of what is lately fallen to us, to these two poor women,—fifty to each; and I have *many strong reasons* that it should be wholly your act (as indeed the money is yours), without any other reference to me, than that you know how much I loved them,—that you will desire them to keep it a profound secret. I suppose that you consent it should be done at all. God knows how little we can spare it. But I must consider it, and do, as a sort of debt; but again, do not hint me as the suggester in any sort. I am happy that you find so much comfort in Therry. Our love to him. You mean, I suppose, to take Ballitore[2] in your way to Limerick. It is hardly out of the road at all. If it be, it is a very trifle. How comes it that the Roches of Limerick did not sign? Are they *Kenmared?* Though they should, if they are inclined to be civil, take their civility in good part. How was Lord Pery to you?

Cazalès is gone; the Bintinnayes are preparing to go; all in very poor heart, and with dull expectations. The little chevalier was at last prevailed on to go to court, where he was received

[2] The residence of the Shackleton family.

both by the king and queen to his heart's content. He was not introduced by the French minister, and was better received by far than the Duc de Levi, (a democrat,) so introduced on the same day, was. It is late, and I am tired. Lord Fitzwilliam met Cazalès with me. He gave a dinner to him and the two Bintinnayes,—our company, the Duke of Portland, Sir Thomas Dundas, Lord Ossory, Walker King, Dr. Laurence;—others were expected, but did not come. I had two very long conversations with him. He was very earnest for a reconciliation, or at least some steps towards it, with an old friend:—but I gave him such reasons why it could not be yet, at least, as made him not condemn me, though he left me, after our last conversation, in a mood sufficiently melancholy. He is, in truth, a man of wonderful honest good-nature and integrity. He[3] talked much of you, and very kindly. Your mother's blessings; Mary's, Nagle's and Ann Hickey's love; and Laurence, who takes this to town to-morrow, desires his remembrance. Your uncle's health, thank God, rather improves on the circuit. We are all very well.

I shall write to you more fully to Cork. They tell me that some of the ladies of Dublin say you are so much a man of business, that you are not seen at any of their balls, assemblies, &c. Don't

[3] Lord Fitzwilliam.

you go to the Castle balls? Perhaps you are not invited to the others. Circulate a little.

I hear the Bishop of Killaloe [4] is very right. Surely, in your health, you owe attentions there; —they were kind to you in your sickness. My best regards.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE KING OF POLAND [5].

Probably March, 1792.

SIR,

I do not possess a cabinet of medals. If I did, I should find myself at a loss under what class, or in what series, to place that medal, with which your Majesty's extraordinary condescension has been pleased to enrich me. It stands alone, and it will stand alone, until I know of some prince, ancient or modern, who has done such things, upon such principles, and with such means.

It is a great work, sir, that you have accomplished. You have made a part greater than the whole. From the remnant of a ruin, you have constructed an edifice, fairer in its proportions, more commodious for habitation, and stronger

[4] Dr. Bernard, translated to Limerick in 1794.

[5] Stanislaus 2nd (Poniatowski), elected King of Poland in 1764, resigned the crown in 1795.

for defence and duration, than the original fabric, when it was the most entire.

Though your Majesty does not share your merit with any other prince, you divide it with your people,—a people, from their generosity and their spirit, from their superior endowments of body and of mind, entitled to every blessing, but from the imperfection of their laws and institutions, to this time, enjoying none. Under your guidance, the Poles are restored to the advantages of their nature.

Hitherto the body of the nation has seconded your endeavours. The exertion of one virtue is always a pledge for the exertion of another. I shall not, therefore, for a moment, suffer myself to apprehend, that the Polish nation will not add constancy to their zeal, and that, recruited as it is in the power of its activity, it will not continue to second your Majesty in giving perfection and stability to the great work which has been carried so far. I will go further, and indulge myself in the hope, that no one individual will remain in such a state of delusion as to imagine, that, under whatever description he may be known, he is, in reality, a nobleman, a gentleman, or even a citizen, in any commonwealth, who is continually subjected to the will of foreign powers. No individual will continue to form so erroneous an estimate of things, as to feel himself miserable

and degraded, because his countrymen are elevated and happy. It is a poor exaltation which consists only in the depression of other men. I love nobility. I should be ashamed to say so, if I did not know what it is that I love. He alone is noble, that is so reputed by those, who, by being free, are capable of forming an opinion. Such a people are alone competent to bestow a due estimation upon rank and titles. He is noble who has a priority amongst freemen; not he who has a sort of wild liberty among slaves. One so circumstanced is not so much like a person noble from his rank, as one who has escaped from his lot in the general bondage, by injustice, violence, and wrong. There is no nobility, where there is no possible standard for a comparison among ranks. To think otherwise, is to think very differently from your Majesty. You delight, and therefore the world delights in you, to be considered as the father, not the proprietor of your people.

Much, sir, has been already done in Poland; and it seems to me to be perfect from this circumstance,—that it facilitates any good that may be attempted hereafter. There is room for a long succession of acts of politic beneficence. Nothing is forced, or crude, or before its time. The circumstances which make the improvement gradual, will make it more sure, and will not make it the less rapid. The reformation your Majesty has

made, by submitting the power of the diet and your own to the sovereign nature of things, will engage that nature of things to a reciprocity. She, in her turn, will aid your Majesty, and the coadjutors who are worthy to co-operate with you in all your future labours, as she has done in all your past. This, sir, is a great and sure alliance. It is worth purchasing by submitting our enthusiasm to her laws. An arbitrary and despotic spirit may be shown, even in plans which have liberty for their object. But there is no mixture of weakness or rashness in your beneficent designs. You neither force nor are forced. You proceed under the array of justice, and you put it under the orders of its natural guide, and cause it to be attended with its well-assorted companions. What, in the event, you may suffer from men and accidents, as the humours of men and the turns of fortune are out of all calculation, I cannot divine: but your glory is safe.

The lines with which your Majesty has been pleased to accompany your inestimable gift, are infinitely flattering to me, and even to this nation, whose language (amongst the variety of languages in which you command more by your eloquence than by your authority,) you have honoured by having completely conquered. A few words from that eloquence which made the poniards drop from the hands of assassins, and

which restored regicides to the sentiments of nature, are more valuable than volumes.

It is no small addition to my pride in a great sovereign deigning to take notice of my obscure labours (now, under much trouble and vexation, touching to their close), that I owe this honour to a person not less distinguished for his talents and accomplishments as a man, than for his policy and magnanimity as a prince;—to a person who knows how to adorn and to soften the gravity of his virtues, and the dignity of his place, by the charm of his manners.

My son, sir, will preserve the precious deposit. If calumny should persecute my memory in him, he will confront it with this testimony. He will show that the wisest and most beneficent of legislators condescended to look with some partiality on the good intentions of his father.

By the excellence of the workmanship of this precious medal (whose image and superscription would give it value in the coarsest execution), we see that the arts are successfully protected by your Majesty at a time when they suffer a loss, which kings and nations may find it difficult to repair, in the extinction of the greatest genius for those arts, enlightened by the soundest philosophy, and adorned with the most amiable virtues that we ever possessed in this kingdom; one who was worthy, if his fortune had been such, to per-

petuate your Majesty's figure upon his canvass. We have lost Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Pardon me, sir, if I have been guilty of any of the lesser improprieties. Into the great ones I cannot fall. It is not easy for me to answer your Majesty's short note in a few words. Brevity is the becoming style of protection and command. It belongs to those whose expressions are chiefly in their actions and in their authority. But age, imbecility, and gratitude, are naturally loquacious. Perhaps, within some bounds, they ought to be so. My limits are not in your Majesty's forbearance, for then I might be still longer; but in my fear of trespassing upon that virtue for which, among so many others, you are distinguished.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, attachment, and veneration, sir,

Your Majesty's most obedient, most humble and obliged servant,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

March 23, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

We have received yours of the 17th, your baptismal day; which, according to laudable custom, you, I suppose, rebaptize in wine. Your mother

observed, that it is the only one which you have dated.

The treachery of your old schoolfellow is something beyond the practice even of Irish secretaries, so recorded by Mr. Grattan. I can easily conceive that he who could betray, could overcharge. Indeed, a plain lie is better than such treason. You certainly are in the right not to suffer an incurable alienation between the Catholics and Dissenters. If the latter do, *bonâ fide*, resolve to relieve their country from this mass of absurd servitude, for so much they have merit, whatever their ulterior views may be. There are *few* things I wish more, (as I have said in the letters I have sketched to you,) than that the established churches should be continued on a firm foundation in both kingdoms. When I say *few*, I mean to be exact; for some things, assuredly, I have much nearer my heart, namely, the emancipation of that great body of my original countrymen, whom a jackanapes in lawn sleeves calls fools and knaves. I can never persuade myself that any thing in our thirty-nine articles, which differs from their articles, is worth making three millions of people slaves, to secure its teaching at the public expense; and I think he must be a strange man, a strange Christian, and a strange Englishman, who would not rather see Ireland a free, flourishing, happy *Catholic* country, though

not *one* Protestant existed in it, than an enslaved, beggared, insulted, degraded Catholic country, as it is, with some protestants here and there scattered through it, for the purpose, not of instructing the people, but of rendering them miserable. This I say, supposing that any security were derived from that abominable system. A religion that has for one of its dogmas the servitude of all mankind that do not belong to it, is a vile heresy; and this I think one of the worst heresies of that protestant sect called Mahometanism.

It is a monstrous thing that the Catholics should be obliged to abjure a supposed claim to the property of others. Never was so absurd a charge made on men. I think they are in the right to abjure that claim; but they ought not to do it without a strong declaration of their indignation at its being, without the smallest foundation, imputed to them.

I return to the Dissenters. I am happy that you find those of Ireland not disaffected to this constitution in state; as to the Church, it is enough for its security, if they are not inflamed with a furious zeal for its destruction, and are content to let it stand as an institution of state for the satisfaction of some part of the people, but as a business in which they have no concern, as they and the Catholics most certainly have none. By the way, don't you think that, in the representa-

tion to the king, this business ought to be taken up in this way? I will send you a few dry heads, and you may see whether they accord with your ideas.

As to myself, my resolution about the part I should take, relative to the Dissenters, has been very wavering. I cannot a second time go to the question of the test, and not vote. This kind of thing cannot be repeated; but I really did wish to take some other opportunity to state their manifest designs and their conduct. This affair of Birmingham, which frightened them at first, now fortifies them. They come forth as persecuted men. They all, as fast as they can meet, take up Priestley, and avowedly set him up as their head. They are preparing to renew the 14th of July. At Manchester they have advertised their thanks to Mr. Thomas Paine for his second work,—more infamous, if possible, than the first. They keep up their French correspondence as before. In short, the Unitarian Society, from whence all these things originate, are as zealous as their brethren at Constantinople; and, if care is not taken, I should think it very probable that you may live to see Christianity as effectually extirpated out of this country as it is out of France. I think I shall not meddle in these affairs at all. If I do, I shall certainly separate the sober and well-meaning, conscientious Dissenters, from the new

French faction. Your mother has a cold, but otherwise, thank God, is well. Have you got my last long miscellaneous letter? Always say what you have got; or, if you are busy, desire Therry, or somebody else, to do it. Let everything be inclosed to Adey, whether from yourself or others. My last went, by your direction, to Mr. Lawless, and had only R. B., Esq., on the cover.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO LORD ——[6].

June 2, 1792.

As I intimated to your lordship that the Irish government are desirous to preclude the Catholics from all direct intercourse with his Majesty's immediate government, I take the liberty of submitting to your lordship's perusal a few heads of deliberation on that important question. I have stated them here as mere suggestions. Before his Majesty's confidential servants came to a formal decision on the subject, I should hope to be permitted to argue the matter at large, on the part of the Catholics; and I have no sort of doubt I should be able to demonstrate, on every ground of *constitution* and of *policy*, the strict right of

[6] Perhaps Lord Grenville.

the Catholics, as well as of all the other people of Ireland, to lay their representations at his Majesty's feet immediately, and without any intermediate channel whatsoever, to address themselves, directly, to his Majesty's English ministers.

Your lordship must be aware how very imperfectly and superficially at best (to say nothing of the extreme delay) the real essential interests of the state can be transacted by formal memorials, transmitted backwards and forwards from one side of the water to the other; and how much better the superior administration, which is charged with the general superintendance of the empire in all its parts and relations, will be able to form its judgment, when it has an opportunity of coming into contact, by direct personal communication, with the interested parties themselves, and their representatives. Unnecessary mediums can only produce obscurity and error, whether in public or in private affairs. Although the interest of the people seems more immediately concerned in establishing the principle of a direct communication with the throne, I am convinced that it is not less material to his Majesty's interest in the case of the Irish government. As Ireland is a distant kingdom, the government must be in a great degree committed to some leading and predominant interest. If that interest has virtue enough

not actually to prefer its own advantage, in all cases, to that of the crown, it cannot be expected to view his Majesty's interests with a judgment wholly unembarrassed by any private consideration. It is, therefore, only by communicating with, and hearing, persons unconnected with that predominant party, and even opposed to it, that his Majesty and his English servants can come to a true knowledge of many, and those the most critical, concerns of the empire. This is particularly the case in Ireland, where the parliament, the judicature, the church, the various branches of the civil administration, being wholly vested in *one* description of the people, and being *all* in *one* interest, there is no balance *against them* in favour of the crown; and no means by which his Majesty can be informed relative to his particular concerns, except through some *other* description of the people. The government of Ireland, ever since the revolution, has been in the hands of a *party*, and has been governed on *party principles*. But it has, by various accidents, been again so subdivided and frittered down, as now to be confined to a part, and that a very small part, of a party. So that if the government of England was to exclude all other sources of information, it would be impossible to conceive a more narrow and partial channel. This would be the case if the government of Ireland was wholly unbiassed

in its judgment, and ever so much disposed to give a clear representation of facts. With regard to the latter, it is impossible for me to know whether they have represented them fairly to the English government; but I know that in Ireland they have taken great pains, and even exerted a singular degree of ingenuity, to render the facts obscure, and to involve the late transactions in such a mist, as to render them unintelligible to the greatest part of mankind. I am persuaded they must appear nearly so to his Majesty's English servants. Thus an Irish administration may, whenever it chooses, throw off all control, and persevere in a system adopted without the consent, and perhaps contrary to the wishes, of the crown. They have nothing to do but to misrepresent or confound the facts; then to say they cannot or will not carry on the government, if information is received through any other channel. When this is conceded, being master of the facts, they must be master of the deliberation also; and the English government, instead of being able to regulate, will not be able so much as to comprehend the nature of their proceedings.

I confess I do not think it argues much in favour of the good intentions of the Irish government, to require such a degree of blind and exclusive confidence. I do not believe it is usual for the servants of the crown, in either country, to prescribe

to his Majesty, or to each other, what intercourse is to be held with the subject. The utmost which is contended for by the minister of any department is, that his own opinion shall finally prevail; not that his Majesty and his other confidential servants shall be precluded from the means of forming *their* opinion, by communicating with such persons and such description of persons as they think proper.

If the Irish government professed to hold any clear and decided opinion upon the Catholic question, their desire to limit the sources of information, and to monopolize the king's confidence, would be more excusable, in favour of the natural partiality which men have to their own opinions. But as they, in a manner, avow, on the present occasion, that they are governed by the opinions, and even by the passions, of those who support them in parliament, and whom they declare themselves unable to control; and, since they propose no remedy for this state of dependence, in which they represent his Majesty's government to be, they ought, at least, to suffer his English servants to use their discretion in inquiring whether some remedy cannot be found. But if the English government is to preclude itself from all information out of respect for Lord Westmoreland, who makes the requisition, to please the chancellor, who is afraid of giving offence to Lord Waterford

and Lord Shannon, his Majesty's councils would be swayed by the passions and prejudices of Irish ministers and members of parliament, at second and at third hand; which could neither be for the dignity or the advantage of his government, either in England or in Ireland.

I shall trouble your lordship no further on this subject than to observe, that, instead of the English government being excluded from all primary consideration of Irish affairs, the natural course of things would be, that all the great questions of national policy, which must ultimately affect the empire at large, should originate with, or at least be finally decided by, the metropolitan[7] government. There is, however, a particular reason why this particular affair should not be abandoned to the discretion of the Irish government. In order to disguise to themselves the true situation of things, and to avoid the necessity of conforming to it, they have adopted a variety of principles which are, at least, exceedingly singular. In the first place, they are pleased to qualify the Roman Catholics with the name of a *democracy;* and then, calling all official intercourse with them by the formal name of a *treaty*, they say, it is beneath the dignity of a government to treat with a Roman Catholic *democracy*. Thus, under an idea of awing the Catholics by I know not what airs of artificial

[7] *Viz.* the English cabinet.

importance, they preclude the major part of the people from free access to the government; and, wrapping themselves up in a mysterious reserve, they neither make nor receive any communication relative to the most pressing and important concern of the kingdom. This method of proceeding is necessarily productive of great inconvenience. The Catholics are totally disabled from gratifying their earnest desire of accommodating the attainment of their emancipation to the occasions and convenience of his Majesty's government, because they are kept in the dark with regard to the views and intentions of the ministers towards them; while the ministers, on the other hand, cannot hope to gratify the Catholics, as they refuse to be informed of their wants and circumstances. This voluntary ignorance leads to many erroneous and even contradictory ideas, by which the Catholics become an object of too much and of too little apprehension. It is probable that the Irish ministers have come to a determination finally to concede, and to acquiesce in the desires of the Catholics, but they consider it as a necessity that is to be protracted to the last moment, and avoided if possible. As the power of the Protestants is that by which alone the Catholics can be resisted, they endeavour to rouse and animate the Protestants against them; not aware that by exasperating their anger, they do not increase their strength; but

that they make concession more difficult, because it must be obtained through the Protestants. Thus the government of Ireland prepares for itself a new and increasing series of embarrassments; and it is this circumstance which more peculiarly calls for the speedy and effectual interposition of the English government.

Whatever difficulties there may be in carrying a measure of effectual relief for the Catholics, on account of the supposed reluctance of the Protestants, (which, however, is infinitely exaggerated,) those difficulties were, in a great measure, if not altogether, created by the Irish government itself. Instead of employing the influence of the crown to conciliate the different parties to each other, and to unite them in one bond of common affection towards his Majesty, they thought it a very convenient opportunity to make themselves a *party*, (which they had not before,) by becoming, as it were, the champions of a Protestant interest, and by entering into and inflaming the passions and prejudices of that party. This is the real cause of the opposition the Catholics have had to encounter, and with which his Majesty (as I understand) is also threatened, on the supposition of his being disposed to relieve his Catholic subjects. Whether this is exactly what his Majesty has a right to expect from those who, so profitably to themselves, have for many years past supported his govern-

ment, I will not undertake to decide. But whatever the merits of their conduct may be, I do not imagine his Majesty has much to apprehend from their efforts. The violent party in the House of Commons, (consisting mostly of persons in office,) does not amount to above one hundred. This number, which is also the least conspicuous in character and talents, is far from being the majority; but if it was the whole parliament, that parliament is very far from the whole, and commands but a small part, of the Protestant interest; and the Protestant interest itself is only maintained in its superiority by the power of the crown, upon which it entirely depends. The idea, therefore, of any resistance from that quarter is perfectly chimerical. Let us suppose that the Irish parliament was determined to show its resentment; let us suppose that the chancellor, and Lord Waterford, and Mr. Ogle, were to muster the dependants of the Castle in combination with Lord Shannon, Mr. Ponsonby, and other gentlemen in opposition, in order to embarrass government, and obstruct the business of the crown:—What could they do? Would they refuse the supplies, in the distribution of which they find such an ample source of emolument? Would they throw out the mutiny-bill, and disband the army, by which alone their political existence is upheld? But suppose they were to refuse the supplies:—Whose money do they

withhold? The money of the Catholics; for they, in fact, directly and indirectly, pay almost *the whole* revenue. It is their loyalty and affection to their sovereign, which induces them cheerfully to bear burthens imposed by a parliament in which they are not represented, and which treats them with the most outrageous contumely; and I do not believe their loyalty would be less liberal out of deference to those, whose only motive for embarrassing the crown was its disposition to afford protection to them.

I have troubled your lordship with these circumstances, to show how very idle, to say no worse, the opposition threatened on this occasion is likely to prove. I have no doubt that every other difficulty and objection would be solved with equal facility. I confess I see no reason why the incapacities and disabilities which affect the Catholics should not be done away altogether; for if they are as good subjects as any other, it is natural they should enjoy equal advantages. Indeed, if every thing was laid open to them, whatever they might acquire in present right, the actual enjoyment would be exceedingly gradual. But if his Majesty preferred the gradual mode, and would be pleased to mark out to what extent the present relief should be carried,—and if, upon this, his Irish servants were dissatisfied with his gracious intentions towards this oppressed description of

his subjects, I would venture to undertake to find a set of public men in Ireland, who would execute the measure, and in every other respect carry on his government, at least as much to his satisfaction, and at less expense, than is done at present. This, in my opinion, might be effected without any considerable changes, and would by no means preclude his Majesty from retaining in his service any particular persons he might wish to favour. Upon this plan, the indulgences to the Catholics would still pass through the medium of the Irish government, and even of the Protestant interest. But I humbly conceive it to be of the utmost importance, at this particular season, that all accessions to the liberty of the subject, and all extensions of public privilege, should proceed, and should be known to originate and to proceed from the sovereign himself. I can take upon myself, in the most solemn and conscientious manner, to say, from my own knowledge, that no prince either has, or can have, subjects more deserving of encouragement, or less likely to abuse it, than are the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The character of their religion disposes them in a peculiar manner to gradations both in church and state. They have been accused of carrying their loyalty and attachment to hereditary succession even to excess, which has been the pretext for most of their sufferings; and their natural disposition is confirmed into habitual loy-

alty, by the necessity of looking constantly to the throne for protection against the oppressions of their fellow-subjects. I may add, that they are really conscientious men, who practise their religion in sincerity, according to the best of their judgment, and do not make it a pretext for political combinations formed for political purposes. Those who have the principal influence amongst them, and with whom I am intimately acquainted, are men of sound understandings; and I do not believe there exists a set of men of more integrity, and simplicity of mind and manners. I do not believe there exists a body of men whom it would be more expedient in any government, at this time, to take up, to cherish, and to cultivate, as a bulwark and security against the prevailing errors and vices of the time, and as a safeguard to the throne and constitution, than the Catholics of Ireland. I do sometimes persuade myself that the deliverance of this people was, as it were, providentially reserved for this season; that in so critical a moment, so many millions of men might be bound to the throne, by the sense of a recent and immense obligation; and that the British constitution might be planted in their breasts as in a virgin soil, while the blessings of it are, in a manner, exhausted in the minds of others, and men have become satiated with its long enjoyment.

I ought to apologize to your lordship, for troubling you so long; but I trust the importance of the subject will plead my excuse.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

RICHARD BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER AND ABBÉ DE LA BINTINNAYE.

London, June 18, 1792.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I have now a moment's, and but a moment's leisure. All my private arrangements of every sort, which the public business had suspended, are come upon me, as they usually do, at the close of the session. But I cannot let my friend Mr. Kerr go off on a little expedition of pleasure and curiosity, which takes him to Coblentz, without wishing him to see you at Brussells, and to embrace you in the name of all that this house and its immediate connexions contained. We thank you most cordially for your kind and constant remembrance of us, which our irregularity and want of punctuality has not taken away from us. We have the vice of our country in this respect, in a very aggravated degree. But you may depend upon it, that no want of the highest affection, esteem, and

respect to you both, forms the smallest ingredient in the composition of our fault. There are few days on which I have not proofs of the good effects of your book, which has made a great impression, and has circulated as much as any French book can do in London. By some mistake, the king and queen have not received the books destined for them, but I shall endeavour to set that matter to rights.

I think I see, at least, some little glimmering of sunshine on the unfortunate affairs of the French *chevalerie*. God knows how it will end. I have but one thing to observe upon and to regret, that some of the emigrants are more concerned in derogating from the men of abilities amongst their brethren, and in libelling them in the public prints, than in the support of their common cause.

You see how you are indemnified for all your losses of every kind by the reception of the son of Dr. Priestley, who is baptized into the constitution of France, under the godfathership of Mr. Français, of Nantz. You see that I act my part in this great scene, and appear as the Aristophanes to the Birmingham Socrates, and am supposed to prepare the minds of the people to persecute him, by my talent for ridicule. So you see, we go down with different merits to posterity, hand in hand. Well! I must console myself in your

partiality for what I suffer from Mr. Français, of Nantz, who, thank God, can do me no great harm, as I am not one of his countrymen, nor a clergyman of the Gallican Church.

Believe me, my dear gentlemen, no people alive are more attached to you than this house, and that we beg of you to assure the Bishop of Auxerre and Mademoiselle de Cicé, of our most sincere and unalterable attachment.

Ever, my dear friends, most truly yours,

EDM. BURKE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, Sunday, July 29, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

We are sorry to find that there is some uncertainty in your coming on Monday. I could not help smiling at the conversation you had with Messrs. Erskine and O'Brien[8]. I take it, that the wish they expressed for my opinion on the affairs of Poland, and for my subscription towards a war with Russia, was a little display of that wit

[8] The Hon. Thomas Erskine, afterwards lord chancellor, and Mr. Dennis O'Brien, an elector of Westminster, and supporter of Mr. Fox.

and humour for which, along with other great talents, these gentlemen are distinguished. If I could believe them serious, I should tell them, that an application to *me*, from *them*, was somewhat singular. They set no value on my political opinions, neither, perhaps, are they worthy of their attention; and I assure them that for such arduous undertakings my purse is not of more importance than my sentiments. For my part, if either one or both were likely to have any effect, before I engaged myself in such undertakings, I would enquire into the constitutional and political propriety of private men granting subsidies to any of the belligerent powers of Europe, however good their cause may be, without the previous sanction of that authority, in which our laws have vested the federal capacity of this kingdom, or without a knowledge of the sense of one or both Houses of Parliament, who, as they are to furnish any supplies which may deserve that name, and will have matter before them to determine their judgment better than any I can call for, are better able to appreciate, as they are better able to support, any political system than a private combination of gentlemen, however respectable for their wealth or their wisdom. As they are connected with a great and powerful party in parliament, which has lately taken a successful part in the treaty between Russia and the Porte,

against the opinion of ministers, (who wished that the former power should be limited in its acquisitions from the latter,) they may have assurance of a parliamentary support in their very critical measure, which I, who have not the honour of the same confidential communications, do not care to promise myself. Mr. Smith, of Clapham, who, I hear, is at the head of the scheme for granting this subsidy, may also, by private communication with the king's ministers, be authorized in taking steps in which I (who, you know, am not favoured by them with any political communications whatsoever,) would, upon no better ground than my conjectures, be rash in following him.

I have done all in my power to make my opinions as much known as I could do, on the steps taken by all orders of the Poles, to strengthen their internal government, and to resist foreign force and foreign intrigue, in the disposition of their national instruments. I thought their proceeding wise in its contrivance, and virtuous in its principles; and that the conjunction chosen for its accomplishment was well taken; because I conceived that, upon solid ground, they must have reckoned on the support of a power which has since failed them. Without a just ground for the presumption of such support, (which I believe they had,) the attempt at their emancipation from the dominion (such in effect it was) of Russia, how-

ever laudable, would be too hazardous. No cause in the world can, as a cause, be more clear in my eyes, or can have more of my warm wishes, than that of the Poles. It happens, in all points, to be the reverse of that of the factions in France. But before I took active measures in their support, if I were capable of taking or advising any, I should look very attentively to the means which my country possessed for carrying on war with the powers who seem, primarily or secondarily, to be concerned in this act of crying injustice. There are none of them on whom our natural power can be easily brought to bear. In such cases, we have always endeavoured to supply by alliances the deficiency of an applicable strength. It appears to me, that unless we can engage Sweden and Denmark in our party, we have no ally whose strength is applicable. The doing this would take time; the war would be protracted; and I greatly doubt whether, in case of success with these two powers (a matter I think very problematical), their force is sufficient for the very desirable object of securing the independence of Poland. I would give a great deal, if a great deal I had to give, to secure an object of such importance. But I would consider how my country stood before I made one in putting forward a measure that tended to commit, if not its safety, its honour and reputation in an inconsiderable hostility.

In all affairs of this kind, I think it quite insane to consider only the pretexts of the persons who would invite you to any measure, and not their manifest designs. I have read, in the newspaper I take in, a series of political essays on the affairs of Poland, the drift of which I thought I could perceive from the beginning; but this morning the design is completely out. It is to find us an ally; namely, the present ruling powers in France. It is true, there is no other which is now on ill terms with the three united sovereigns. Pray consider that letter attentively. You will see that the French system is the main object, and that the whole tendency of the work, evidently written in subserviency to this scheme, is to defend the French whom we can assist, and not the Poles, to whom neither we nor they (certainly not they) can be any way serviceable. The faction, which never has lost sight of its object for one moment, aims at bringing in the French evil by a back door; and on pretence of an assistance to the Poles, which the French cannot give, we are to become accomplices in the calamity which their assemblies are, to their power, bringing upon Europe. Finding us warm in the cause of the brave and generous Poles, they would seduce us into a confederacy with the horror, turpitude, baseness, and wickedness of the French revolution. If this be their object, which (until France

is fully disclaimed,) I must be certain it is,—though I lament the fate of Poland, as I before lamented its fate, when the cruel partition was made of that kingdom between the same powers, yet I would sooner let affairs there take their course, and hope for better things from better conjunctures, than, by perhaps a vain and impotent effort to succour Poland, establish at our very door a system of tyranny infinitely more dangerous, which aims directly at the sources of all the happiness that this kingdom has enjoyed and does enjoy, and tends to put a stop to that spirit of progressive improvement which, more or less, every state of Europe has been proceeding in, and to plunge them headlong into that condition of wretchedness, ferocity, impiety, and savageness, into which the parricides of France have sunk their own degenerate country. No; let their designs be what they may, the world, and we ourselves eminently, are obliged to those powers, who, when the savages had declared war against one of them, for only exercising (and that indeed poorly) the laws of hospitality towards the victims of their nefarious tyranny, have thought it right, by the arms which were appealed to by the faction itself, to assert the cause of mankind against them. Much success attend their good and virtuous cause! I say this from my heart, for I do not believe they will act as if it was only a war

of kings, and leave out the suffering intermediate orders, who have lost their all for maintaining that aristocratic principle, without which every dominion must become a mere despotism of the prince, or the brutal tyranny of a ferocious and atheistic populace; the latter, infinitely a greater evil, and infinitely more shocking to every liberal and well-instructed mind, than even despotism itself.

Observe well the topics of the pamphlet of these gentlemen. To give us a confidence in the French arms, they tell us that the officers having in general deserted, the privates and non-commissioned will soon supply their places, and make good troops. They mean to send our troops to that virtuous school; to send them to act with those who force the most honourable body of gentlemen and officers that perhaps ever existed, to fly from their commands and their estates, and to seek refuge in exile and in famine; and who tell us that the scum of a mercenary common soldiery are the true defence of a country, and the best judges of the form of government fit for the security of law and liberty. I will never take a step which may tend to have our honest common soldiery sent to the school of the murderers of their generals and their prisoners. I will not send any of our seamen to act with those who have

driven away your virtuous friend De la Bintinnaye from their service, and have not left one single naval officer in his post. I will not betray our common seamen, whose glory has been the result of the rigour of their subordination, which they bore with cheerfulness from their love of the English flag, into the contagion of the society of such wild ruffians. I confess to you, that, habituated as I am to the jargon of their abettors, the idea of an alliance with them is a thing which I can yet scarcely hear of with common patience. If the king (but I never can suppose it) should be so unhappy as to be led into such an alliance, what will he not have to answer for, to his crown, his family, and his sacred office? As to the gentlemen of this country—but I have done. Whatever they may do, be you the last to be led on, or betrayed, into this horrible pollution. You will be too weak, as I have been, to resist the torrent; but do not pull up the flood-gates. The old system of things gave you the religious and virtuous education you have had, which I am sure you find abundantly sufficient to make you whatever a man ought to be. I had the same, which, if it did not make me fit for my station in the place and period in which Providence placed me, it was my own fault. God, in his time, will, I hope, give you more of your blood to succeed

you. Do your best to continue to them the same benefits (such you think them) that you have received, and be as easily reconciled to pass them through the fire to the grim idol of a Moloch, as to send them to the national education of a Perigord or a Condorcet.

I do not think (you remember I have said it over and over again) that any government is safe as long as that sort of thing which prevails in France has an existence. The balance of power is a matter of great moment; but who has destroyed it? That very monster by whose aid, it seems, we are to restore it. They have treated the very idea as a mischievous chimera, and renounced every interposition in the affairs of other nations, further than by their declared resolution to support the levelling factions which might arise amongst them for the subversion of their governments. The balance of power is a thing they never will maintain. The other objects they will pursue, and in a way that will make them far more terrible to their friends than to their enemies. If lost for a while, the balance of power may be recovered. But the spirit and principles of Europe, once destroyed in the stamina of its internal governments, never will be restored. If France can be, as certainly she may be, upon occasion, of use in preserving that balance, she must first be made a part of the system, and not a

principled enemy to the whole of it, as she now is. She must be got to act upon the ideas of statesmen, and not of fanatics.

If this meeting should turn out differently from what I have conceived it, and that it leads, neither directly nor indirectly, to any connexion whatever with the French; and if it appears, under the sanction of government, to be a mode of previously taking the sense of the people for their support in an interposition for which they have provided some rational plan, wholly distinct from anything which may serve to prevent the rescue of the monarchy and the intermediate orders of France from the present usurpation and tyranny, I shall most readily pay down my twenty guineas, though, God knows, more than I can afford, to show my admiration of the king, and my perfect good wishes to the generous, unhappy nation, that has suffered so much from the violence and ambition of its neighbours. At the same time observe, that, even with the best intentions, I do not much like the conducting of national affairs by private councils and private subscriptions. They may do well for a charity towards any worthy persons who may be expelled their country, or who may suffer in it from the oppressions of a Russian or any other usurpation. But to make war with Russia by such means, seems to me great folly. What is the charity of those who can even rejoice in the suffer-

ing of the gentry and clergy of France, and even the thousands of imprisoned women, exposed to pine in famine and silence?

Adieu, my dearest! God bless you and direct you. You may show this to any particular friend who wishes to know my poor sentiments.

My dear Richard,

Your affectionate father,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE COUNTESS OF INCHIQUIN [9].

Beconsfield, July, 1792.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I am distressed beyond measure at the command you have laid upon me, because it is the second of the kind I have received, and I really can make little answer to it but what I have done at first. As to our dear friend himself, I have said all that I can say in the paragraph I wrote on his death. You, who have a good taste, must know that these things cannot be repeated for ever from the same mind without forcing it, and consequently pro-

[9] Miss Palmer, niece of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was lately married to the Earl of Inchiquin, afterwards created Marquis of Thomond.

ducing something paltry and affected, which will do more harm than good. There remains to me perhaps to write his epitaph. Believe me, this kind of things can not be diversified without end; and if they were to be so diversified, I am not fit for it, who am used only to have some substantial matter of praise or blame to express according to my powers, with force and clearness; and as to mere compliments or pretty turned phrases, I never had any hand at them. As to the collection, I have said also all I have to say. If these artists can say anything more, let them send it to me, and I will do my best that it shall not be ill-expressed. I do not know where what I wrote already for the occasion is, or whether your ladyship has given it to these gentlemen, or kept it to yourself. I send you, since it must be so, another sketch. I suspect that I repeat myself again. If I have, take from both, and make the most of them. I wish some other person conversant in these things would write on them; not I, who never hazarded sixpence for a picture on my own judgment, and who know nothing of the arts but what I may possibly have endeavoured to know concerning the philosophy of them. However, here is what occurs to me,—I fear, as I said, a repetition:—

"The public has here a collection, of great extent and great variety, of the pictures of the most eminent artists of former ages, made by the

most eminent artist of the present time. He chose those pictures as objects at once of study and of rivalship. No person could do more than the great man we have lately lost, from the funds of his own genius. No person ever endeavoured more to take advantage of the labours of others. He considered great collections of the works of art in the light of great libraries, with this difference in favour of the former, that whilst they instruct they decorate. Indeed all his passions, all his tastes, all his ideas of employment or of relaxation from employment, almost all his accumulation, and all his expenditure had a relation to his art. In this collection was vested a large, if not the largest part of his fortune; and he was not likely from ignorance, inattention, or want of practical or speculative judgment, to make great expences for things of small or uncertain value."

My dear Lady Inchiquin, take this, such as it is, as one of the poor testimonies of love and gratitude to the memory of our valuable friend, and of my readiness to do whatever you would have me.

Our best affections to Lord Inchiquin. I go to town on Wednesday; business coming on, on Thursday; so we cannot that day wait on you, and indeed, in my little time here, I have much to do.

Ever most faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Whitehall, August 1, 1792.

SIR,

I received a few days ago your letter to me of the 20th of last month, informing me, as one of his Majesty's confidential servants, that the Catholics of Ireland have directed you to lose no time in renewing your application to me for an audience upon the same important affair, which, as their agent, you transacted with me during the last winter; and desiring me to name the time when you might wait upon me.

Before you went to Ireland last winter, I must call to your recollection, that I explicitly stated to you, as did Mr. Pitt, that his Majesty's ministers here did not conceive it advisable to enter into the discussion of any proposition with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, which did not pass through the Irish government. The same reasons which have heretofore existed, operate now with equal force, and reduce me to the necessity of declining the honour of an interview with you on any business which you, as agent to the Catholics of Ireland, are desirous of transacting with me in that capacity.

From the unremitting attention which has been paid by the Lord-Lieutenant to the duties of his high and important station, and the zeal he has manifested to promote, by every means in his power, the general interests of the empire, I cannot entertain a doubt of his readiness to receive and transmit any application, from any description of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, when made to him in a regular and constitutional manner. If, therefore, any of his Majesty's Catholic subjects have any request or representation which they wish to lay before his Majesty, they cannot be at a loss for the means of doing so, in a manner much more proper and authentic than through the channel of private conversation; and, under these circumstances, his Majesty's servants here do not think it proper to depart from the principle which they have established, by proceeding to the discussion of any subject wherein the Irish government is so materially concerned, which does not come before them through the regular channel.

Having stated this to you, I shall forbear making any observations on the contents of your letter.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

P. S.—Since the above was written, I have been favoured with your letter of yesterday's date.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE ABBÉ DE LA BINTINNAYE.

Beconsfield, August 3, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received the Chevalier's kind letter written on his departure towards the important scene to which his virtue, honour, and patriotism carry him. I wish the unravelling of the plot of this terrible tragi-comedy may be happy to him, and to all good men. But I confess I have my fears from even the success of those who have been educated and hardened in the shallow, contemptible, and mischievous philosophy, economy, and politics, of this age; which makes them indisposed and unqualified for any great work in the restoration of so great and so undone a kingdom as France. A thousand thanks to you, my dear sir, for uniting me in your concern for these great and important interests. You have already done much for the cause, and with the greatest and most flattering partiality to myself. I have just seen Mr. Lally's book. It is not worthy of an answer. He that can talk of resources to the state from the goods of the clergy, after all the experience that has been had of the unprofitableness of dishonesty, must love proscription and plunder for their own sake. Is it

not evident that this very project is the main cause of that confusion and desolation which he laments? As to his schemes of the British constitution for France, it is not to know either France or England, or indeed any thing of mankind or of human affairs. I am sure he knows nothing of our constitution as it stands, and full as little of the process by which it has been made, and the manner in which it produces its effects. Nothing in England is as it appears to a common observer; and this worthy gentleman is the very surface of superficiality. If any thing of the kind will amuse your leisure or dissipate your anxiety, I should not be sorry that you employed yourself in the refutation of these political projectors. Otherwise, it is not necessary. Arms, and I am sorry to say foreign arms, must decide your fate. The proceedings at Paris are frantic and wicked beyond the dreams of madmen. Nothing that can happen to you is, or can be, worse than the present state of things, and that is a sort of comfort in what may befall. My son is wholly taken up with the Irish affairs, which do not go on quite to his satisfaction, but is always cordially attached to you and to all yours. Mrs. Burke, my brother, and our captain[3], are the same. Pray, when you write to the worthy bishop, remember us to him with every

[3] Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir Edmund Nagle, K.C.B., a relation of Mr. Burke's on the mother's side.

expression of regard and esteem, and to Mademoiselle de Cicé. Say every thing for us to the Chevalier, to whom I wish every thing which can contribute to his honour and happiness.

I am ever, with the most affectionate attachment,

My dear sir,
Your most faithful and obliged
humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ., TO WILLIAM BURKE, ESQ.

August 17, 1792.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I am afraid you will think me unaccountably remiss, in having let all the ships of the season pass without once having written to you. I trust, however, you are too well and too long acquainted with my entire affection, to suppose that my neglect has proceeded from the least alteration or abatement in it. I will not say that I have literally not had time to write, for that would not be true; but I have in fact been engaged in such perpetual and anxious occupations, that I had not time for the quantity of matter which constantly grew upon me, on which I wished to discourse with

you. I therefore postponed my packet for a moment of leisure which never came, or was constantly interrupted with some pressing and indispensable occupation. When I wrote to you last summer from Margate, I was, as you remember, setting out for Coblentz. Immediately on my return, I got into a negotiation, on behalf of the Irish Catholics, with the ministers here; the solicitation and discussions attending which, pretty well engrossed me during the autumn, and in the beginning of the winter carried me over to Ireland, where I was in pretty hot and complicated political controversy; and since my return in the latter end of April, I have been actively pursuing the same business here, and I am now about to return to Ireland again. In this moment, I snatch up the pen to make myself some amends for my long silence, and that, if possible, you may not be a whole year without hearing from me.

Since I wrote to you last, my life has become a little more eventful, and I have, in my Irish expedition, made a kind of essay on the public stage, and upon the whole, I have left a tolerably good impression. As to my foreign trip, it was principally pleasure and curiosity, though not without a view of being useful, if the opportunity occurred. Nothing could be more grateful than the reception I met with universally from the

exiled French nobility, whose veneration and gratitude to my father were without bounds. It was, however, a melancholy thing to see the flower of every thing which was illustrious in France compelled to seek refuge in the little courts of Germany, and in a miserable dependence on the false and feeble councils of foreign cabinets, and the hope of their precarious succours. Such then appeared to be those of Austria and of Prussia. (I wish they could be said to be now entirely free from that reproach!) The poor French princes and their followers (the entire nobility of France) were but too much the sport of intrigues, and the victims of this wretched dependence.

Bythino donec libeat vigilare tyranno [1].

Their royal protectors and patrons would neither give them effectual support, nor leave them quite without hope. This was their situation while I was there. I received constant marks of their kindness and confidence,—to a certain degree partook in their councils, and, at my departure, accepted a sort of provisional authority to treat on their behalf with the English ministers, if I should find them at all disposed to enter into the plans in agitation in the different courts of Europe,

[1] Juv. Sat. x.

for the restoration of the French monarchy. On my return, I found the ministers had made up their minds determinately to a strict neutrality, and that they were resolved not to interfere to the right or left. I therefore pursued this business no farther. In the meantime the Irish affairs came across, and led my thoughts and exertions another way, so that foreign tour turned out nothing more than a pleasant and interesting excursion. My Irish tour has, indeed, had a very different event, and plunged me over head and ears in public affairs. I cannot pretend to give you a detail of all my adventures on the other side of the water, which, indeed, would be a little history and an account of a political controversy. I will, however, give you a general sketch of it, that you may not be quite unacquainted with the circumstances in which I have been so earnestly engaged.

I am not to inform you of the general state and history of the Catholics of Ireland, or of the hardship and merits of their case. These, you were too conversant with my father's early years and interests, not to be pretty familiar with. You will therefore easily judge, that nothing could be a more natural object of my ambition, than to be engaged in the accomplishment of his earliest desire to alleviate these oppressions, and to be considered and regarded by that description of

people. They had already employed me to write some papers for them, about a year before; and immediately on my arrival from abroad, I found one of their body here, who came over to engage me to solicit the English ministry in their behalf. You may imagine no occupation could in every point of view be more acceptable to me.

Independent of the particular grounds of argument in favour of the pretensions of my clients, (which I will not trouble you with, as you know there are principles of policy as well as of justice in all public questions,) I did not fail to urge the advantage that would accrue to the cause of government, by attaching to itself such a body as the Catholics of Ireland; giving them an interest in the established constitution, and using them as a counterbalance to the great body of the Dissenters, supposed not to be a little infected with the new theoretical doctrines. I found the English ministers disposed to enter into my ideas from the very first, and I succeeded in keeping them so, notwithstanding the reluctance and strenuous opposition of the Irish government. Hobart, who was my schoolfellow at Westminster, and is now secretary in Ireland, was sent over to counteract my negotiation; but he returned with instructions to comply with the requisitions I had made on behalf of the Catholics. These were, a power to practise the law, to serve in provincial magis-

tracies, on grand and petty juries, and to vote at county elections, though on somewhat a larger qualification. The Irish government prevailed only in one thing, by which, however, they contrived to defeat me in the end; which was, that the concessions should appear to proceed from themselves; by which means they prevented government from being pledged to support the Catholics in these points; and they reserved to themselves a power of frustrating the instructions of the English government, in the exercise of the discretion which it was impossible not to leave, as they obtained some in the execution of them. They were determined, at all events, the Catholics should not succeed. That I may explain to you the scheme they pursued, (which was not wholly without art,) I must take the business a little higher up. The affairs of the Catholics have been for some time conducted by a sort of committee, constructed somewhat on the principle of a representation. Lord Kenmare, an old friend of my father's, had, for a long time, had their principal confidence, but they found out at last that he had made himself a creature of the Castle, which had no other view than to put them off with fair words, and never to render them any real service. The natural consequence was, that he lost his credit by degrees, and the committee got into the hands of more sincere and zealous persons. One

of their first steps was to employ me in the negotiation with the English government. The Castle, on the other side, endeavoured to rally this party of Lord Kenmare, to whom, as was not unnatural from his connexions, and his long nominal lead of the body, many of their principal people adhered. They got them to sign an address which, in effect, disavowed all the proceedings, and even the authority of the committee, the negotiation in which I had been employed, and declared that they would gratefully accept of any thing parliament chose to give. A division being thus made in the body, they persuaded themselves, and the other Protestants, that they might easily discountenance and intimidate the committee and those who adhered to it; and they succeeded in raising the old Protestant cry, which I doubt would not have been possible, had the Catholics appeared to be united; which, indeed, they were in effect. The Castle imagined, that by running down one party as low and seditious persons, and strengthening the others by making them the channel of some, though not very effective benefits, they should keep them all at their mercy. Accordingly a bill was brought in on this principle, conceding only the profession of the law, with repeal of some few obsolete and insignificant restrictions. This boon, such as it was, was pretended to be given as a reward to the approved principles and conduct

of the addressers; and every sort of reproach and obloquy was thrown upon the committee.

As the negotiation had been so prosperously begun, I resolved to pursue it. When I got to Ireland, the address had just been presented. The Castle people and friends of government received me with every kind of civility; but it was not difficult to perceive the game they were playing. I was, therefore, obliged to take my part, which naturally was with my committee; and I found myself at once, involuntarily, in a contest with the government I had gone over to serve and support. However, I had the pleasure to see an infinite majority of the Catholics declare in favour of the committee. It was a new sight in Ireland to see columns of newspapers filled with advertisements for meetings, and with spirited public resolutions of papists. Thus I found myself at once, under the name of agent to the Catholics, in effect at the head of a great party. As we had lost the support of administration, it was natural to look to the opposition. I had, from my first going over, received some overtures, and great civility, from Grattan and Curran, and several other members of the party, with whom, indeed, I was before acquainted. At one time it was not impossible we should have had the whole, or the greatest part, of the opposition; but the adversaries contrived to raise such a spirit among the

Protestants, as intimidated the greatest number of our parliamentary friends. The tide seemed completely turned against us. However, Grattan at last plucked up heart, and agreed to the bringing in a petition from the committee, praying a share in the elective franchise. He then took up the cause with a force and animation which, if he had followed my advice in showing in time, the adverse spirit would never have been raised. When the petition was brought up, it is difficult to conceive the insolence and indignity with which the majority of the house received it; but when Grattan and several others came out stoutly to defend the cause, the general appearance of things was changed, and the other party in its turn began to flinch, and seemed perfectly ashamed of themselves, so that you would have said the house was even favourably disposed. The next day, however, the enemy rallied again, and our petition was formally rejected; though it had the day before been brought up, and ordered to lie upon the table. However, the friends we had, fought stoutly, and we had infinitely the best of the debate, though they were only twenty-seven in number; but it was in truth almost all the debating ability in the house.

This is a short account of our parliamentary campaign, which, I much fear, is indistinct, as I cannot, in the compass of a letter, enter into par-

ticulars enough to make it clear. During all the heat of the controversy, I continued to receive civilities from the court and protestant party. With regard to the Catholics, it was impossible for any thing to exceed their kindness, affection, and confidence, which grew every day I stayed amongst them. You will naturally suppose that intrigues were not wanting to subvert and undermine me in their confidence. I think I was assailed successively by almost every party and every kind of men; however, I contrived to stand my ground. I must say, that my friends showed a degree of steadiness, fidelity, and constancy, which was not to be expected amongst a young party. There is one circumstance in the parliamentary history which I must explain to you, as it must have surprised and probably alarmed you;—the idea that I had got into a personal scrape. It is true that the violence of the anti-catholic party set up a furious cry against me in the house, and called out to have me taken into custody. It was but a fruitless and innoxious display of illiberality; for I was, in truth, in no danger. At the time when the opposition failed me, I had prepared a petition, which the Catholics were determined to present, however unsupported. For want of a more efficient man, I prevailed upon O'Hara to undertake it, which, I will do him the justice to say, he undertook manfully enough; if he had

been able to go through with it, it had done very well. But he was not able to stand the rage of the majority, and was so confounded, that he misstated the purport of the petition. I stepped out of the gallery to try to get some member to go up and put him right. I might possibly have been a few inches within the body of the house, upon which they set up a cry of "a stranger in the house," and called out "custody! custody!" What end it would have answered to take me into custody, I know not; but I prevented them by a timely retreat. After the house was up, I stood by the door while the members came out, and had the pleasure of seeing that, individually, they were somewhat ashamed of their rudeness in the aggregate; and they made me amends by a great deal of personal civility, and even some apologies the next day. This was the only unpleasant circumstance that happened during my stay in Ireland, and I left it in very good humour with all parties. Since my return here, I have been engaged in constant solicitation. The Irish government has made a violent resistance to further concession; and though I think I have the opinion of the ministers pretty generally with me, I despair of getting any thing decisive done in our favour until there is another Lord-Lieutenant, which probably will not be very long. I then trust we shall be able to accomplish our objects.

In the mean time we must battle it as well as we can with the Castle and the high-flying Protestants. This question now engrosses the whole attention of politicians in Ireland. All other questions and interests are merged in it. Though we have so small a party in parliament, the Protestants out of doors are very much divided. By one of the strange revolutions which take place in men's minds, the Dissenters have become the warmest partizans of the Catholics. What designs their leaders may have ultimately, we must not examine too closely. One of my principal views in going to Ireland was to connect the Catholics, in preference, with the government party. But as the Church will not have them, they must take support where they can get it. I am unwilling to believe ill of men who espouse so good a cause as that of the Catholics; and, though they have shown some pretty strong symptoms in favour of the French system, I believe it has not taken a deep root. I am sure, however, that it is in the power of government to quiet all the real uneasiness of the country, and to secure its own stability, whenever it chooses to take the Catholics by the hand.

I am almost ashamed of having taken up so much time in a business which, though important enough itself, dwindles to nothing amidst the great interests which are at this moment at stake.

The prospect of all Europe is exceedingly gloomy. We are every day in expectation of the effect of the Duke of Brunswick's invasion at the head of the combined armies of Austria and Prussia. I much fear that the politics of these parties are not sound, not that I imagine they want to dismember France. But they are not cured of the natural jealousy all princes have of intermediate orders,—nobility, clergy, parliament, and all such establishments, from which they have been used in ordinary times to find obstruction to their will. Instead, therefore, of endeavouring to build on these natural foundations of all just government, it is to be feared their object is to carve a sort of royal authority out of this very revolution. The *feuillants* are most of them the original authors of the revolution; but like the presbyterians of the last century, finding themselves out-played at their own game of faction, they began to affect moderation, and to take up the cause of the monarchy; not, indeed, upon its old foundations, but as modified in this new constitution. It is, properly speaking, to support this party that the present war is made on France. A new revolution has taken place in consequence of it, more bloody, furious, and violent, than the first. You will see the particulars of it in the papers. We have not yet heard that it has gone beyond Paris, but it will extend all over France. What effect this will

have on the operations of the combined armies, and the councils of the cabinets, remains to be seen. It is certainly a crisis for all Europe. If this expedition fails, Germany will infallibly be over-run, and it is vain to think that England can long escape the contagion. England has unaccountably and inconceivably drawn itself out of all intercourse in the affairs of Europe, the councils of which are almost universally in the worst possible hands;—that of foreign ministers,—the corps diplomatic;—therefore, God knows what will become of us.

The internal affairs of England have taken a very happy turn, at least for the moment. The democratic party is entirely discountenanced and run down; but there it is, and will of course raise up its head the first favourable moment. The association of the "friends of the people," was the first effort, though with great appearance of moderation, to give a practical application and direction to the humours which are afloat. My father instantly went down to the house to attack it. This time he was supported, as you will have seen, very greatly by both sides of the house. It was, indeed, a great triumph. I happened to be present, and I do assure you there was as great an eagerness shown to avow and repeat my father's sentiments, as there had been, the year before, to fly at him on one side, and to fly from him on the other.

The proclamation which was issued soon after, was a concerted measure between the Duke of Portland and Pitt. The concurrence of sentiment which appeared in the house led to an interview, and that, to the proclamation. Never was any measure so unanimously followed throughout the nation. Your friend has the glory of being the leader of the whole. In fame and eminence it is impossible for any thing to stand higher. I am not without my fears for the democratic party. Even the moment of success and vigour in that infinitely superior number who are attached to the constitution, carries with it some appearances of inefficiency, not generally observed, but which are truly alarming. If the Duke of Brunswick fails, we shall fall here without a blow. You will have heard much of coalitions. There have been, indeed, some coquetries going on, as was inevitable. The ministers, of course, wish to detach the duke [1] and his friends from Fox, with whom he is still formally connected; though in principle and substance the connexion is at an end. This, however, the duke does not see; and he retains a personal fondness which will not suffer him to believe any deliberate ill. The schism would certainly be attended with many difficulties. I should not be surprised, however, if in the end a general coalition took place. My father thinks

[1] The Duke of Portland.

the duke ought to come in with Fox, if he will pledge himself to a fair constitutional conduct; otherwise, without him; which he might do with great credit and power. As an earnest of the good disposition of court and government, he is supported by them for the chancellorship of Oxford, though against the Duke of Beaufort. He[2] has declined, so our duke comes in without contest. Adieu! I send you with these a sheet of a letter I wrote on the false news of the taking of Seringapatam. Though that has turned out to be false, we, who were not so sanguine as you in the hopes of the India war, are very well pleased with the peace you have made, which is indeed glorious. I am afraid your share of the spoil will not be very considerable; but, whatever it is, do not despise it. I received your short letters, similar to that you wrote to Adey, which came long after the public despatches. Alas! my dear friend, there I cannot avoid condemning you. It is the rock upon which you originally split, and it can never prove a haven to you. The effect of the termination of the war was very different from what we expected. India stock sunk upon it more than two per cent. I am highly pleased with D.'s recommendation of you to Lord Cornwallis. I have spoken to him again to renew it.

[2] The Duke of Beaufort.

My parliamentary career, if ever it is to be, must wait till there is some coalition of parties. I wait, sometimes with patience, sometimes not; but on the whole I am convinced, that what is, is best. My outward frame is not the strongest, to say nothing of the inward part; and many circumstances have occurred to divert my attention from public affairs. However, I still keep a look towards them, and gratify my mind with the dream of doing something on the English stage. I have sometimes thought of parliament in Ireland; not that I should at all like to pitch my tent definitively there. But God knows how long parliament, or any part of the present system of things, is to endure. The other matters you interest yourself about, I have often reproached myself with. But I do not know that it is entirely my own fault. I have had a project or two for the purpose which has come to nothing. You must recollect something of our circumstances of life, which make my choice in many respects very limited; but that too may come in its time. *

* * * * * * * * [3].

[3] The part omitted relates to Mr. W. Burke's private affairs.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Beconsfield, August 18, 1792.

I DO not know whether I can perfectly justify myself in venturing to trouble your lordship, in my imperfect state of knowledge, with any suggestions of mine. But I trust, that however weak you may find my notions, you will believe that they are formed with general good intentions, and that they are laid before you with all possible respect to yourself and to your colleagues, and with real good wishes for whatever may contribute to your reputation in the conduct of the king's business.

The late shocking, though long expected, event at Paris, has rendered, in my opinion, every step that shall be taken with regard to France, at this conjuncture, extremely delicate.

The part of a neutral power is, in itself, delicate; but particularly so in a case in which it is impossible to suppose that, in this neutrality, there should not be some lurking wish in favour of one of the parties in the contest. The conduct of such a power will be looked up to with hope and fear during the contention. Every thing which such a power says or does, will be construed by an application to the circumstances.

The present circumstances are an attack upon the King of France's palace; the murder of all who were found in it; the imprisonment of the king; his suspension, stated by the faction itself as a deposition; acts of violence which have obliged the majority of the national assembly to absent themselves from their functions; add to these, the intention, not in the least ambiguous, of bringing the king and queen to a trial; the resolution expressed by many of putting them to death, with or without that formality. The effect of these things, from their very nature, and from the nature of men, as well as from the principle on which they are done, at a time when theories are rashly formed, and readily pass from speculation into practice, and when ill examples, at all times apt to infect, are so unusually contagious, it is unnecessary for me to state to one of your lordship's sagacity and penetration.

This last revolution, whatever name it may assume, at present bears no one character of a national act. It is the act only of some desperate persons, inhabitants of one city only, instigating and hiring at an enormous expense the lowest of the people, to destroy the monarch and the monarchy, with whatever else is respectable in society. Not one officer of the national guards of Paris, which officers are composed of nothing higher than good tradesmen, has appeared in this business. It

is not yet adopted throughout France by any one class of people. No regular government of any country has yet an object with which they can decently treat in France, or to which they can rationally make any official declaration whatsoever.

In such a state of things, to address the present heads of the insurrection, put by them into the nominal administrative departments of state office, is to give a direct sanction to their authority on the part of the court of Great Britain. To this time, the King of France's name has appeared to every public act and instrument; and all office transactions to our court, and to every other foreign court, have appeared in their usual form. If we pleased, it was in our power to shut our eyes to every thing else; but this is now no longer possible. I should, therefore, beg leave to submit it to consideration, whether to recognize the leaders in the late murderous insurrection, as the actual governors of France, is not, at best, a little premature. Perhaps it may be a doubt, as a matter of sound policy, whether more would not be lost by this hasty recognition on the side of the great, settled, and acknowledged powers, than we can hope to gain by pressing to pay our court to this, at best, unformed and embryo potentate. I take it for granted, that it will not be easy for Lord Gower[4] to continue in his present situation. If

[4] At this time ambassador at Paris from the court of London.

it were even thought for the dignity of this crown, no man of honour and spirit would submit to it. It is a sacrifice too great to be made, of all generous and noble feeling. I should humbly propose it for consideration, whether, on his retreat, great reserve ought not to be used with regard to *any declaration.* If any person standing in the place of a minister should apply to him for an explanation, he ought, in my poor opinion, to be *absolutely silent.* But if that should not be thought the best course, he might say that he had had leave to return on his private affairs. The King of Spain has no minister at Paris, yet his neutrality has hitherto been complete. The neutrality of this court has already been more than once declared. *At this moment,* any over-prompt and affected new declaration on that subject, made to the persons who have lately vaulted into the seat of government, after committing so many atrocious acts and threatening more, would have all *the force and effect of a declaration in their favour.* Although it should be covered with mollifying expressions with regard to the king's personal safety, (which will be considered as nothing but a sacrifice to decorum and ceremony, and as mere words of course,) it will appear to the Jacobin faction as *a direct recommendation to their meditated act of regicide;* knowing, as the world does, their dispositions, their menaces, their preparations, and

the whole train of the existing circumstances. In that case, to say, "I hope you mean no ill, and I recommend it to you to do no ill, but do what you please, you have nothing to fear from me," would be plainly to call upon them to proceed to any lengths their wickedness might carry them.

It is a great doubt with me, whether a declaration to this new power, a creature almost literally of yesterday, and a creature of treasonable and murderous riot of the lowest people in one city, is not a substantial breach of the neutrality promised to the power to whom originally the neutrality was assured, on the interposition of *foreign* powers; namely, to the most Christian king. To take the first opportunity, with the most extraordinary haste, to remove all fears from the minds of his assassins, is tantamount to taking a part against him. Much I fear, that though nothing could be more remote from the intention of this court, yet if such a declaration were made, and if the act of atrocity apprehended should actually take place, we shall be considered as ready accomplices in it, and *a sort of accessories before the fact;* particularly when no declaration on the part of our court has been called for by the new power, and that, as yet, they have no minister at this court. If the step of the recall of our minister (supposing such a step in contemplation) should produce any fears in them, I see no use in removing those fears. On

our part, the navy of France is not so formidable that I think we have any just ground of apprehension that she will make war upon us. It is not the enmity, but the friendship of France that is truly terrible. Her intercourse, her example, the spread of her doctrines, are the most dreadful of her arms.

I do not see what a nation loses in reputation or in safety, by keeping its conduct in its own power. I think such a state of freedom in the use of a moral and political reserve in such unheard-of circumstances, can be well justified to any sovereign abroad, or to any person or party at home. I perceive that much pains are taken by the Jacobins of England to propagate a notion, that one state has not a right to interfere according to its discretion in the interior affairs of another. This strange notion can only be supported by a confusion of ideas, and by not distinguishing the case of rebellion and sedition in a neighbouring country, and taking a part in the divisions of a country when they do prevail, and are actually formed. In the first case there is undoubtedly more difficulty than in the second, in which there is clearly no difficulty at all. To interfere in such dissensions requires great prudence and circumspection, and a serious attention to justice, and to the policy of one's own country, as well as to that of Europe. But an abstract prin-

ciple of public law, forbidding such interference, is not supported by the reason of that law, nor by the authorities on the subject, nor by the practice of this kingdom, nor by that of any civilized nation in the world. This nation owes its laws and liberties, his Majesty owes the throne on which he sits, to the contrary principle. The several treaties of guarantee to the Protestant succession more than once reclaimed, affirm the principle of interference, which in a manner forms the basis of the public law in Europe. A more mischievous idea cannot exist, than that any degree of wickedness, violence, and oppression, may prevail in a country, that the most abominable, murderous, and exterminating rebellions may rage in it, or the most atrocious and bloody tyranny may domineer, and that no neighbouring power can take cognizance of either, or afford succour to the miserable sufferers.

I trust your lordship will have the goodness to excuse the freedom taken by an old member of parliament. The habits of the House of Commons teach a liberty, perhaps improper, with regard to office. But be assured, there is nothing in mine that has the smallest mixture of hostility; and it will, I trust, appear that my motives are candid and friendly, if ever this affair should come into discussion in the House of Commons, and I should feel myself called on to deliver my opinions. If I

were, as formerly I have been, in systematic opposition, (most assuredly I am not so now,) I had much rather, according to my practice in more instances than one, respectfully to state a doubt to ministers whilst a measure is depending, than to reproach them afterwards with its consequences in my place. What I write will, I hope, at worst, be thought the intrusion of an importunate friend. I am thoroughly convinced that the faction of the English Jacobins, though a little under a cloud for the present, is neither destroyed nor disheartened. The fire is still alive under the ashes. Every encouragement, direct or indirect, given to their brethren in France, stirs and animates the embers. So sure as we have an existence, if these things should go on in France, as go on they may, so sure it is, that in the ripeness of their time, the same tragedies will be acted in England. Carra, and Condorcet, and Santerre, and Manuel, and Petion, and their brethren the Priestleys, the Coopers, and the Watts—the deputies of the body of the dissenters and others at Manchester, who embraced Carra in the midst of the Jacobin club;—the revolution-society that received Petion in London;—the whole race of the *affiliated*, who are numerous and powerful, whose principles, dispositions, and wishes are the very same, are as closely connected as ever; and they do not fail to mark and to use every thing that shows a remissness, or any equi-

vocal appearance in government, to their advantage. I conceive that the Duke of Brunswick is as much fighting the battle of the crown of England, as the Duke of Cumberland did at Culloden. I conceive that any unnecessary declarations on our part will be to him, and to those who are disposed to put a bound to the empire of anarchy and assassination, a signal discouragement. The cause of my dread, and perhaps over-officious anxiety, at this time, has arisen from what (you will have the goodness to pardon me) I thought *rather too much readiness to declare on other occasions.* Perhaps I talk of a thing not at all in contemplation. If no thoughts of the kind have been entertained, your lordship will be pleased to consider this as waste paper. It is, at any rate, but as a hint to yourself, and requires no answer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

EDM. BURKE.

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE CHEVALIER DE GRAVE.

Beconsfield, August 24, 1792.

SIR,

I am obliged to you for the honour you have done me in sending me your letter to the president of the national assembly. The picture you have drawn of the calamitous state of your country,

must deeply affect every mind out of which the spirit of system has not effaced all the genuine sentiments of natural humanity. It is impossible, sir, not to take a particular interest in men who have made sacrifices to their honour, even where we may differ in opinion about the exact propriety of their conduct. I really do justice to the purity of your motives, in your acceptance and in your resignation of the place you held in one of the late transitory administrations. In great revolutions, and in critical situations like those which France has for some time experienced, great errors are, in a manner, unavoidable. He knows little of mankind, and feels less for them, who is not sensible of this, and who will not make a liberal allowance for our common and inevitable infirmity. It is enough if errors are not shown in crimes; and if, by obstinacy, mistake is not heightened into madness. I believe that your acceptance of ministry, under circumstances under which it was evidently impossible to perform its duties, and in which no degree of reputation could be obtained, was imputable to the dreadful necessities of the time, and to a laudable desire of preventing as much evil as may be, where to do good was hopeless. Such a necessity will often involve the best of men in the worst of systems. In that light I consider the new constitution of France, in all its parts. Nothing has happened but what was the natural and inevitable effect of that fatal con-

stitution, and its absurd and wicked principles. Nothing has been the effect of accident. Every successive event was the direct result of that which preceded it; and the whole, the effect of the false basis on which that constitution was originally laid. A more deplorable monument of the weakness and malignity of which the human mind is capable, never has been raised in any time, or in any country. I am sure it gives me sincere sorrow, that you, together with so many thousands of worthy patriots, have been sacrificed to that idol. You speak of returning to France, when such a party as you describe is formed *in* France. Such a party can never be formed there. The predominant faction have taken good care that their body-politic should not contain within itself any remedy for its own distempers. As their contrivance imitates nature in nothing else, so neither does it in this great circumstance of self-healing powers and properties.

I shall go to Bath towards the end of next week; but my stay there will not be very long. On my return, if it suits your convenience to do me the honour, I shall be happy to receive you, and pay you my respects in this place. I have the honour to be, with very great respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Extract of a Letter from the RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MR. WILLIAM BURKE *in India.*

September, 1792.

* * * * * * This is the politics of the little neighbourhood. I will now say a word to the politics of the great neighbourhood. Last winter produced extraordinary phenomena. In my opinion, as long as the desperate system which prevails in France can maintain itself, we shall always find some eruption or other here. The fire is constantly at work; it sometimes blazes out. It is sometimes smothered, or rather covered, by the ashes;—but there it is, and there it will be. The whole edifice of ancient Europe is shaken by the earthquake caused by the fire. One part of the building only is level with the ground; but all is impaired very considerably. For my part, I think that even in the efforts made by princes to re-establish the ancient order of things, signs of great weakness, and even of those causes which they are leagued to prevent, are very discernible. But the complete security of many people here, I hold to be amongst the most alarming of the symptoms of our present distemper. Last winter they were roused from this security,

but only to fall into it again. The remedies they used left the distemper where it was, but it has increased the security, which is the most dangerous effect of it. The association for parliamentary reform, which is composed of amateurs of the French revolution, and certainly had the spirit of that revolution for its vital principle, and, in most of the members, for its ultimate object, gave a very great and serious alarm, not most or first to the ministers, (though to them a good deal too,) but to the older and weighty party of the opposition, who saw, upon that occasion, the necessity of strengthening the hands of government. They came to an understanding, and thence into a degree of concert with administration. Many things were proposed, but both parties seemed to agree but in one (and, indeed, no more was much pressed); that is, in the address of the two Houses, to be supported by mutual concurrence of the principal of both parties. Fox was put into great straits. The young, and vigorous, and enterprising of his party had led in that business. The weighty, grave, important, the men of settled character and influence, were strongly against it. In this situation you may believe he found himself embarrassed and mortified. Though he had done all in his power to excite the spirit from whence that association had its rise, the measure did not originate from his advice, nor was it

carried on from any active encouragement of his. However, when the affair came to the test, he showed which division in the party he thought it the most for his purpose, or the most agreeable to his inclination, to adhere to. He fell foul on the address, though he well knew that it did in effect begin from the Duke of Portland, and that the draft had been laid before him, and settled in a manner agreeable to his ideas. All this, however, produced no rupture between the duke and him, though on his part great vexation. All this agreement concerning the safety of the fundamental part of the constitution, naturally produced approximation towards each other, of the ministry, and one part of the leaders of opposition. A sort of negotiation between Lord Loughborough and Dundas was commenced with the approbation of the Duke of Portland, for a comprehension of parties, and putting the administration on a broader and, as they think, a safer bottom. The ministers say, that they think they are full strong enough for the support of their own power and situation, and that they are not the less strong for getting rid of the chancellor [5]; but they confess they are not strong enough for the public purposes of administration, and for the steps which the exigencies of the time may require. These

[5] Lord Thurlow. The Great Seal having been put in commission in June of this year.

exigencies can be only the changes brought about in Europe by the situation of France; but I do not find that *these* are any part of the object in view by either of the parties, which makes me (who conceive, and indeed am quite sure, that all other politics are absorbed and drawn into that one gulph,) very indifferent about the final result of this negotiation; I say *final result*, because, though it seems as if it were broken off, I do not think it is so, conclusively. The difficulty, in fact, is the arrangement of Fox, and that difficulty is greatly increased by the strange conduct held by the Duke of Portland, who, in proposing the arrangement to Fox, never made the political principle upon which that arrangement was to be made, any part, much less the fundamental part, of the negotiation. In truth, I do not see how the duke should think of coming into office, or desiring his friends to do so, unless there was something in the circumstances of the moment sufficiently urgent to justify a departure from systematic opposition. This could be *nothing* but the necessity of strengthening the monarchy against the principles of French republicanism; but Fox, upon whom the duke turned the whole negotiation, without the least reference to any political principle, saw plainly that he could not be arranged in a manner suitable to the rank in which undoubtedly he stands. To abandon all

the young and energetic part of the party, and the whole body of the dissenters, upon whom he has lately built his principal hopes, is what would be difficult for him to do. He, therefore, made a point of what he knew Lord Loughborough would not dare even to mention to Pitt, that Mr. Pitt's abdication of the treasury should be a *sine qua non* in the negotiation; and he prevailed on the Duke of Portland on his part to make an abdication of his pretensions to that situation, to neutralize the office that generally goes with that of first minister; that is, to put it into the hands of the Marquis of Bath (Lord Weymouth), or the Duke of Leeds. This would, in effect, completely set aside the Duke of Portland for ever, and put up the treasury in hands avowedly holding it only in interim and ineffectually, to be fought for as a prize by court intrigue or parliamentary conflict between him and Pitt. Into this trap the duke has given. Fox will not arrange on other terms, and the duke does not think it advisable to arrange without Fox. You see, that if Pitt did choose to give up his post, of which he is in possession, to game for the chance of it afterwards, how much this arrangement, made to produce peace and settlement, must lead to eternal confusion;—you see plainly enough. I do not know any thing more likely, in the present crisis of politics, to ruin the tranquillity, and, with it, to endanger the

safety of the kingdom. As to Pitt, I believe the idea can be no secret to him. But nothing was proposed by Lord Loughborough the negotiator, but to place him generally in a cabinet office. Pitt did not directly put a negative on it, but said the idea was new to him;—that he felt the importance of Fox's abilities in the support of government;—that he had no sort of personal animosity to him, but rather, personally, good will and good liking; but that, from the part he had taken through the whole session, and particularly on the proclamation, he did not see how he could be recommended to the king's confidence, at least without some further explanations. The ministers, after this, made no attempt to renew the negotiation. You see that the duke is more and more in Fox's power,—indeed, is now delivered over to him, bound hand and foot; and must be so, until he puts his conduct upon some distinct principle, on which an issue between them may be fairly joined. You may easily conceive that this negotiation, totally destitute of all foundation in political principle, was not, at least in the mode and terms, of my advising. I saw the mischief of any arrangement which should make Fox desperate, and put him, in the most desperate manner, at the head of the worst, designing men, as well as the duke or any one else could do. But my advice was, that, as a foundation of the whole, the

political principle must be settled as the preliminary;—namely, "a total hostility to the French system at home and abroad;" that this ought to be put as a test to Fox, on which, if he gave security by declaration and conduct, he would be, if so, separated from the factions, and lose their confidence; and then, whether he came in or not, the duke would preserve consistency, character, and dignity, by adhering to him, and making his power an object in all his manœuvres, whether of opposition or negotiation. If he refused this test, grounded on the sole motive of a coalition of parties, he would leave the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam, and all the sound part of their friends, at liberty to take such steps as they pleased for the public benefit; and thus, by an increase of reputation, they would gain more in the nation than they lost in a faction that does not belong to them; and though, without question, that faction would continue to fight, with Fox and Sheridan at their head, yet, when it was clearly known what they fought for, and on what they divided with their old friends, they would fight at every kind of disadvantage;—but things have taken another turn. The Duke of Portland does not dare to propose a test to Fox, and Lord Loughborough did not dare to propose an abdication of the treasury to Pitt. The thing that encourages Fox to take the steps, and to make the

demands he does, is a persuasion he cannot part with, that is, that the king is grown quite weary of Pitt; that he is intolerable to his Majesty, and that, in that humour, he has no objection at all to him, Fox. I have no doubt that he is confirmed in those sentiments by the ex-chancellor; but I am sure that they both either deceive themselves wholly, or, at least, greatly exaggerate the grounds of their hope.

So far as to this. To your Indian interests I have little to say. I rejoice in the conclusion of the war. I rejoice in the glory which Lord Cornwallis has acquired in the war, and in its termination; I wish only that you had some share in the advantage of it, which you do not hint at, and I believe is not the case. Lord Guildford, and I believe with ground, is reported to be the successor of Lord Cornwallis. I believe he may have it if he pleases. You may be sure, if that should prove as it is supposed, you will not be neglected. What do you say to the Duke of Portland's being chancellor to the university of Oxford? It was not originally proposed by ministers, but it was countenanced by them. Character had the chief operation. He is vastly pleased. The Duke of Beaufort was the other candidate, but he has given up his pretensions. The Duke of Portland was offered the blue ribbon, but he has declined it. He is vastly pleased with the other.

The elder Richard is at Cheltenham, for a scorbutic humour with which he is troubled. All the Portlands are there. Our young Richard is again in Ireland; what success he will finally have, I know not; but his mind and body are totally occupied with that arduous affair. God bring him safely through it! My ever dear friend, God bring you safely to us! May we have one cheerful winter's evening, at the close of our short day, before we go to bed.—Adieu!—Adieu!—You are in my heart to its last beat; so you are with us all.

Jane has been ill for a day, by mistake of a medicine; since then—now the sixth day, she has been gathering strength; and this morning, I bless God, is in perfect health, as she will tell you in a line or two. We have received all your letters, and a thousand, thousand thanks for them. Old General Conway is infinitely pleased with what you have written to him.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

Beconsfield, September, 1792.

MY EVER DEAR RICHARD,

I trust you are in Dublin, and have got safely the two letters I directed there for you. I send this to you by my excellent friend Dr. Moylan. In those letters I gave you my ideas in general. Particularly I pressed what I now press again; that those to whose cause we wish well in Ireland, would leave off the topic, of which some of them are so fond, that of attributing the continuance of their grievances to English interests or dispositions, to which they suppose the welfare of Ireland is sacrificed. I do not know whether they believe me or not; or whether they may not think that I too speak from that sort of policy. But believe what they will, there is not one story which the Protestant ascendancy tells of them that is more perfectly groundless than that notion. What interest has any individual *here*, or what interest has the whole kingdom collectively, that the Catholics of Ireland should have no share in the election of members of parliament? Since the independency, (and even before,) the jobs of that government are

almost wholly in their hands. The whole that England or that Englishmen get from it, is a very trifle, not worth the consideration of any, the smallest body of men; and if they think that the court party, or the ministerial party, or any party whatsoever, on this side of the water, wish to keep down the Catholics in order to keep the whole mass of Ireland feeble, they do an injury to the quietness of their character; at the same time, infinitely too great an honour to the profundity of their politics. I have never known any of the successive governments in my time influenced by any passion relative to Ireland, than the wish that they should hear of it and of its concerns as little as possible. For this reason, the present set of ministers, who partake of that disposition in a larger measure than any of their predecessors with whom I have been acquainted, have left the whole to the persons to whom they have abandoned Ireland; and they again to that junto of jobbers who endeavour to secure to them their lucrative repose against the factions who may oppose them there, or the rivals who may want to succeed them from hence. Our friends are greatly, radically, and to themselves most dangerously mistaken, if they do not know that the whole of what they suffer is from cabals purely Irish. Mr. Hobart owes only the accident of his birth to this country. In connexions, in habits, and in the turn and genius of

his politics, he is purely Irish. I have read the debate, or rather discourse, at the meeting of the Catholics of Dublin. I doubt whether in any House of Parliament so great ability could be shown in the discussion of any subject. It forms a good omen of what may be expected in Mr. Foster's[6] popish congress. Nothing could equal the provocation the Catholics have received, particularly from that race of conquerors, the corporation of Dublin. Yet I wish that *some* things had been more moderated; not many indeed, but every thing which might even remotely be interpreted into a menace of force, or of any connexion with the cut-throats of France; or which might discover a disposition to throw the blame of what they suffer on this country, in whose moderation and impartiality alone their hopes of redress exist. I assure them, if they will trust a man of some reflection and much experience, that the resources of a persevering, litigious, dissatisfied obedience, are much greater than those of almost any force, even if any force they had. But any thing like the menace of a force which does not exist, and which, too, is known not to exist, gives offence where it can inspire no fear, in those who know the true state of things; and to those who do not know it, raises an

[6] The Right Hon. John Foster, then speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and an active opponent of the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

alarm, the effect of which is, the desire of opposing to it a *contrary* force, to support a grievance which is felt only by others, rather than to run the risk of any change which might derange an order, in the preservation of which they have, or think they have, a greater interest than they can derive from a reformation, attended with equal uneasiness and confusion.

I am to tell you (but this to yourself,) that Lord Loughborough and Windham are alarmed about the present state of Europe in a manner different from that which is common, and they have a real desire of doing something. I went with Windham to all the ministers, and asked them whether they really thought they should be obliged to adopt internal or external measures of such vigour, as might make a support, greater than that of those who generally go with ministers, necessary to them. That, if they had such measures in contemplation, we could only answer at that moment for a fair description of *dispositions*, but that such dispositions to support them against the principles of France, and its power and influence, did seriously exist; and we believed, if they, on their part, were willing to take such steps as the exigency of the time required, they might be drawn into action. They wished us to be able to speak more decisively and with more authority; we thought we might soon be enabled to do so. We laid

down as a basis, which was the result of much conversation with Lord Loughborough, and, on a full view of things, agreed with our own opinion, that no change whatsoever could be safely made in the substance of the ministry; and that for any mixture, it was not more desirable than practicable. As to the latter, some conversations had passed relative to it; but it was found that it *could* come to nothing; and at this moment, the support given to government, to have any effect, must be freed even from the suspicion of self-interest in any of those who give it. I gave in a memorial of the state of Europe, which may be considered as a sequel of that which, with so little effect, I delivered before to Lord Grenville. Windham thought rather better of the conversation than I did. I reported the whole to the Duke of Portland, who, without determining any thing, seemed not at all displeased with what we had done. He is gone, or will go to-morrow, to town; where Lord Loughborough will see him. Windham is gone to Lord Fitzwilliam's. So you see, Windham and I are hunting again in couples! I really fancy you will think all this right upon the whole. I have been melancholy, very melancholy; though, on the whole, God has been pleased to enable me to bear this trying crisis of the world like a man. Windham and I jumped in one idea; that one feels public affliction less when one makes efforts,

never so hopeless, in the cause, than if one lay quite still, and was passively buffeted by the storm. It looks like a sort of fight. In these conversations, enforcing as strongly as I could the necessity of putting a stop to the progress of French arms and principles, I stated, that in order to give us vigour abroad, we ought, if possible, to assure to ourselves tranquillity at home. First, in this great question of the existence of monarchy on earth, to unite the royal family; secondly, to unite, as much as possible, parties in England; third, to quiet the dissensions in Ireland. This last most directly concerns you. I found them very uneasy on this head; but it was a peevish uneasiness that I could not perceive to lead to any thing. Windham thought it was not quite so bad. The only fact I learned from these conversations was, that the report of sending several regiments to Ireland was without foundation, and that they had not given any person authority to declare that they would use the forces of this country to coerce the Catholics. This I heard from Lord Hawkesbury. I throw out to you things as they occur to me. I wish the Catholics would let alone all expressions of limitation of their views and designs; they will always be taken at their word at the limitation; at the same time, that they do not at all draw nearer the other party to grant them the poor objects which they seek by their volunteer

concessions. What is it that they get by adopting at all this new idea of *protestant* ascendancy? Why should they fix barriers and securities to it? Let them leave these to their adversaries. They have nothing to do, but to declare firmly and simply, that they have no designs whatever to alter the ecclesiastical, civil, or political establishment; but for them to state what degrees of exclusion of themselves from the benefit of citizenship is necessary to the security of this establishment, or that any exclusion at all is necessary, is surely not quite so well considered. I certainly, if I had all in my power, would give far more than they now ask; but leisurely, by degrees, and portion by portion; and this, my own settled plan of policy, I inculcate as much as I can to others. What the meeting of the third of December will do, I know not. I am rather against their making any petition to parliament till the mediation you suggested, as covenanted in the treaty of Limerick, has been tried. This will give a dignity to your cause, and will be a more public and solemn appeal, than can be made in any other way, to the enlightened judgment of Europe; clearing you of the supposed intentions you have of introducing the atheistic, sacrilegious, and bloody anarchy of France; and showing what you do really seek, and the valid grounds on which you seek it. I think, when you are assured that your plan will be adopted, you

had as good return. I see they are suspicious. God bless you! do what you think best. Your mother's cordial blessing. Adieu! adieu!

Your affectionate and grateful father,

EDM. BURKE.

Grattan and Hutchinson have been down with me for a day. They are perfectly right; but they say that the ascendants are as hot as fire; and that they who think like them [7] are, in a manner, obliged to decline all society. I believe Mr. and Mrs. Grattan will come hither this week. Your mother greatly longs to see you, and, if it does not materially hurt business, that you would come to us. We have had more light about Louth. They don't like that the money they furnish for beer should be employed to cut the throats of the members. But what is this murder of Morgan [8]?

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO RICHARD BURKE, JUN., ESQ.

September, 1792.

MY DEAREST RICHARD,

As an indemnity for all your northern disappointments, I give you the satisfactory news of the com-

[7] *Viz.* Grattan and Hutchinson.

[8] This subject is again referred to in vol. iv. p. 32.

plete recovery of your dear mother; which, though we bless God, was tolerably perfect before, I did not look upon to have all its proper honours until this day, when she dined in company. Before, she had a table to herself in the breakfast room; for, as we grew pretty numerous, I thought it better for her to dine alone. I think we shall set off for Bath next Saturday. Dr. Laurence left us yesterday.[1] He is charmed, as we all are, with the young Keoghs. I assure you I have not seen, to my recollection, three finer boys. They are manly, steady, rational; of extraordinary good parts, and of a politeness of behaviour which I have not seen at their age, but without all affectation and formality; and we have observed many signs in them of good nature and sensibility. They are gone off this morning under the care of Dr. Laurence. Observe, this is the third, if not the fourth, letter I have directed to you to Dublin,—two under cover to Kiernan, one under cover to Mrs. Keogh. This I direct to the post-office. I wrote to Mrs. Crewe *at* you. I wrote *to* you to Chester also, and to Holyhead. To-morrow I am not without hopes of hearing from you. Your man arrived yesterday, giving us the pleasing news of his having left you well at Namptwich. If we had any news, as we have none, you should have it. It is no news to you that our first and last prayers to God are for you. He loves you better

than we do, and knows better than you or we do what is good for you. Your uncle is well, and the Duke of Portland recovered of his fall. I dined on Saturday at Lord Inchiquin's to meet Lord Ossory. He told us that Fox said to him that he is as good an aristocrat as any of us. I really do believe him to be so; but, perhaps, do not the more excuse him. Again and again, God preserve you! When you go into the south, go into the little houses of our few and reduced relations. It will not make two days difference. I remember there seven houses where you could have been hospitably received. Of them, I doubt whether one remains, at least in any thing like the former condition. Our love to Therry and to all the Kiernans. Mrs. Nugent is here, and desires her love, as does our Mary.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

September 6, 1792.

SIR,

I received yesterday from our friend King a letter of yours dated the 18th ult., containing suggestions with regard to the mode of recalling our ambassadors from Paris, on account of the late

transactions there. The points themselves which are principally adverted to in that letter, have already been decided upon; but I feel that I ought not, on that account, to omit expressing my acknowledgments to you for the letter itself. In my situation, I ought always to be glad to receive the opinion of persons of knowledge, experience, and ability, on points of so much delicacy and importance; and in the manner in which you give it, I cannot but feel a just sense of the motives by which it is dictated, or of the personal attention to myself with which it is accompanied. If our sentiments do not on all points agree, I well know that we have the same object in view; that the king's conduct in this crisis should be such as may best tend to preserve these kingdoms from the contagion of the evils which have ruined France.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most faithful and most obedient
humble servant,
GRENVILLE.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. MARY LEADBEATER [9].

Beconsfield, September 8, 1792.

MY DEAR MADAM,

After some tears on the truly melancholy event [1] of which your letter gives me the first account, I sit down to thank you for your very kind attention to me in a season of so much and so just sorrow to yourself. Certainly, my loss is not so great as yours, who constantly enjoyed the advantage and satisfaction of the society of such a companion, such a friend, such an instructor, and such an example; yet I am penetrated with a very sincere affliction, for my loss is great too. I am declining, or rather declined, in life; and the loss of friends (at no time very reparable) is impossible to be repaired at all, at this advanced period. His annual visit had been for some years a source of

[9] The daughter of Burke's schoolfellow Richard, and grand-daughter of his schoolmaster Abraham Shackleton. Mrs. Leadbeater published several pieces, in prose and verse, which are much esteemed. She died in 1826. Burke's "worthy friend Abraham," who is mentioned by him in the latter part of this letter, is the son of Richard Shackleton.

[1] The death of Richard Shackleton.

satisfaction that I cannot easily express. He had kept up the fervour of youthful affections, and his innocent vivacity and cheerfulness, which made his early days so pleasant, continued the same to the last. The strictness of his piety and virtue had nothing in it morose or austere; and surely no life was better, and it is a comfort to us to add, more happily spent than his. I knew him from the boyish days when we began to love each other. His talents were great, strong, and various. There was no art or science to which they were not sufficient in the contemplative life, nor any employment that they would not more than adequately fill in the active. But his talents, which were not without that ambition which generally accompanies great natural endowments, were kept under by great wisdom and temperance of mind and his opinion, that the exercise of virtue was more easy, its nature more pure, and its means more certain, in the walk he chose; yet in that, the activity and energy, which formed the character of his mind, were very visible. Apparently in a private path of life, his spirit was public. You know how tender a father he was to his children, worthy of him by their genius and their virtue; yet he extended himself more widely, and devoted a great part of his time to the good of that society, of no mean extent, of which the order of the Divine Providence had made him a

member. With a heart far from excluding others, he was entirely devoted to the benefit of that society, and had a zeal, very uncommon, for everything which regarded its welfare and reputation; and when he retired, which he did wisely and in time, from the worthy occupation which he filled in a superior manner, his time and thoughts were given to that object. He sanctified his family benevolence, his benevolence to his society and to his friends, and to mankind, with that reference in all things to the Supreme Being, without which the best dispositions and the best teaching will make virtue, if it can be at all attained, uncertain, poor, hard, dry, cold, and comfortless. Indeed, we have had a loss! I console myself under it, by going over the virtues of my old friend, of which I believe I am one of the earliest witnesses, and the most warm admirers and lovers. Believe me, this whole family, who have adopted my interest in my excellent, departed friend, are deeply touched with our common loss, and sympathize with you most sincerely. My son is just arrived in Dublin; my wife is not very well, and is preparing for a journey to Bath, which I trust will re-establish her. My brother, who will hear this news with a sorrow equal to mine, is now at Cheltenham, for the benefit of those waters. Compose yourself, my dear madam, you have your work to do. Pray remember me to the gentle-

man I have not the honour of knowing, but whose happiness you make. Thank, for me, my worthy friend Abraham for his good-natured letter; and beg him to consider it as answered in this.

I am, with most unfeigned respect and affection,

My dear madam,

Your most faithful friend and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

P. S. I hope you will assure my dear friend Mrs. Shackleton, the worthy wife of my late invaluable friend, that we sympathize in all she feels; and join our entreaties to yours, that she will preserve to you as much as possible of the friend and parent you have lost.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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